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VALUE ORIENTATION AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN PUERTO RICO--ATTITUDES TOWARD SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG NINTH-GRADE PUPILS AND THEIR PARENTS.
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NINTH GRADE, *ENGLISH, ENGLISH INSTRUCTION, *EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDES, SOCIOECONOMIC INFLUENCES, SURVEYS, *PERSONAL VALUES, *LANGUAGES, *BILINGUALISM, STUDENT ATTITUDES, PARENT ATTITUDES, PUERTO RICO

AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO MEASURE THE ATTITUDES OF PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN (NINTH GRADERS) TOWARD THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. THE PRIMARY CONCERN WAS TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THOSE PUPILS WHO WERE MOST LIKELY TO BENEFIT FROM THE EVALUATION OF THE NEW ORDER WERE THOSE WHO DISPLAYED THE LEAST RESISTANCE TO LEARNING ENGLISH AND THE GREATEST APPRECIATION OF IT AS A MEANS OF SELF-BETTERMENT. THE STUDY WAS CONCERNED WITH NINTH GRADERS OF THE ENTIRE PUERTO RICAN SOCIETY IN BOTH PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS. IN MAKING THE SURVEY, THE INVESTIGATOR SOUGHT REACTIONS TO SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING BEFORE THE ATTRITION RATE OF THE SCHOOL POPULATION BECAME HIGH AND SIFTED OUT MOST OF THE LEAST INTELLIGENT, LEAST MOTIVATED, OR ECONOMICALLY LEAST ENDOWED STUDENTS. PARENTAL ATTITUDES WERE ALSO ELICITED IN ORDER TO ASSESS THE EXISTENCE OF INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES. A REVIEW OF THE FINDINGS REVEALS A PICTURE CONTRARY TO MANY ANTICIPATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, LITTLE RELATIONSHIP WAS FOUND BETWEEN THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARD ENGLISH. NO CONSISTENT POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH SOCIOECONOMIC POSITION WAS UNCOVERED. MANY ATTITUDES WERE RELATED SIGNIFICANTLY TO SOCIAL MOBILITY. A TOTAL OF 224 TABLES WERE INCLUDED. (JC)

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VALUE ORIENTATION AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN PUERTO RICO: ATTITUDES TOWARD SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG NINTH GRADE PUPILS AND THEIR PARENTS

Cooperative Research Project No. S-214

Erwin H. Epstein

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Chicago, Illinois

1966

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Presumably, a dissertation aims at inducing independence of thought and initiative. Paradoxically, it serves also to demonstrate to the scholar-initiate his inadequacy in maintaining a competency of action and expression that is independent of others.

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CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLICY FOR PUERTO RICO: AN OVERVIEW

Puerto Rico in many ways manifests a confluence of social patterns. Its location provides a link between Europe and the Americas and between the continents of the Western Hemisphere. Its culture is a mixture of Spanish and other European, Indian, African, and, recently, North American elements. The characteristic life of its people is Caribbean, but also Latin. Its society functions under two very divergent but juxtaposed value systems--one old and traditionally rooted, the other emergent and remarkably dynamic. These are perspectives by which any topic related to the customs, myths, traditions, attitudes, and ideals of the people must be viewed. Second-language learning is such a topic; its treatment in Puerto Rico requires a broad understanding of the vicissitudes of insular life.

Before Puerto Rico became associated with the United States in 1898, a formal "system" of education could not be said to have existed. Not only were all the schools instituted under the Spanish régime ungraded and inefficient, but 77 per cent of the population was illiterate and only 8 per cent of school age children attended school.[1] Into this situation the Americans sought to inject a new, more organized system of education, one which would methodically teach the values of a different culture through the medium of a strange new language.

There can be no doubt that from the beginning the American school-language policy for Puerto Rico was fraught with political intentions. The United States would carry the banner of liberty and democracy to its insular subjects, and English was to be the intermediary by which a transition from old to new was to take place. The stage was set for the role English was to play by the turgid statement of Major General Nelson A. Miles upon landing on the shores of Puerto Rico in 1898.

> The people of the United States in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity . . . come bearing the banner of freedom, inspired by a noble purpose . . . [to] bring to you the fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in justice and humanity to all those living within its fold . . . not to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property, to promote your prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government . . . to give to all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages of enlightened civilization.[2]

The fault of this declaration is that the Puerto

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[1] Juan José Osuna, A History of Education in Puerto Rico (Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1949), pp. 195 and 341.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60.

Ricans were being protected from no one but themselves, since they had that same year, just prior to the country's cession to the United States, been granted almost complete autonomy by the Spanish government.[1] Viewed in this light, the United States had, in reality, thrust its "enlightened civilization" upon the Island, and the English language was the medium by which "enlightenment" was to be transmitted, even though Spanish had for centuries been the vehicle of communication as well as of expression for the traditions and civilization of the people.

But even so, many Puerto Ricans early saw advantages in learning English and were eager to incorporate the new language into their schools. The adoption of English as an integral part of the educational system has, therefore, never been seriously disputed. Generally, it has been agreed that every pupil should have the opportunity to learn at least some English in school. The problem with which Puerto Rico has been concerned, then, is not whether English should be taught at all, but the degree to which it is to be utilized in the curriculum, especially as the language relates to the teaching of non-language curriculum subjects.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 77.

[2] Robert Herndon Fife and Herschel T. Manuel, The Teaching of English in Puerto Rico (San Juan: Department of Education Press, 1951), p. 5.

The British have taken the position, at least in Africa, that the best policy in the administration of a colonial possession is to encourage at the lower levels of instruction the local language or dialect rather than that of the mother country. The French, on the contrary, have felt that none but the language of the metropole should be stressed and supported. On the other hand, Americans have been notably ambivalent regarding a language policy for Puerto Rico. In trying to make the subordinate population fluent in the metropolitan tongue, the United States has not attempted to suppress the use of Spanish, and it has not been willing to take a firm or consistent stand on the amount of English required in making the populace bilingual.

Over most of the years since 1898, the constant reformulation of a second-language policy in Puerto Rico has appeared much like a bottle floating on a sea of political ferment. Much of this has been due to the fact that until fairly recently Puerto Rico was an "unincorporated territory" (or colony) in comparison with Hawaii and Alaska which were "incorporated." The Island belonged to but was not a part of the United States. Consequently, the "future status of Puerto Rico" has remained uncertain and highly controversial.[1] It also meant that the Island was open to the "Americanization" process without its consent and without the means for directing the process in its own way. As a result, Puerto Rican educators found themselves in the very difficult position of justifying an education which appeared politically colonialist. This has been true particularly with respect to English instruction, which many felt to be the very embodiment of assimilative colonialism. The situation was made no better by recurrent efforts of the United States government to "Americanize" by accelerating the instruction of English in the schools.

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[1] Osuna, op. cit.

The first Commissioner of Education for the Island, Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, in 1900 adopted a policy of "the conservation of the Spanish language and culture and the acquisition of the English language with all the cultural characteristics which such acquisition implies."[1] In accordance with this dictum a policy was adopted of using Spanish as the sole medium of instruction with English taught as a special subject in the elementary schools. In the secondary schools Spanish was to be employed as the special subject with English as the medium of instruction. Before this plan had an opportunity to prove its worth, however, it was discarded for a new, more radical one.

Impatience on the part of United States authorities with respect to the teaching of English had become evident after Brumbaugh's departure in 1902, and subsequent reforms led to a policy of using English as the sole medium of instruction throughout the school system, with Spanish as a special subject. Years later, José Padín, as Commissioner of Education, soundly criticized this policy which remained more or less intact from 1903 to 1915.

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[1] Ibid., p. 342.

> The fundamental fallacy of this plan was the excessive importance it attributed to the acquisition of English as the medium of verbal intercourse. To provide ample practice for the required ear and verbal drills in the classroom--for the opportunities were not available in the home, the street and the playground--the entire curriculum was subordinated to the mastery of spoken English. It does not seem to have occurred to those responsible for this innovation that under normal circumstances only a negligible minority of our people need English as a medium of verbal intercourse while the entire population has need of an education which should be acquired as early and expeditiously as possible.[1]

As a result of the public furor beginning in 1913 over the extensive use of English in the curriculum, a compromise policy was agreed upon and set into motion in 1916. The new arrangement prescribed Spanish as the teaching medium in the lower four grades of the elementary school, both Spanish and English in the fifth grade, and English in the upper three grades and in the secondary school.[2] This policy remained intact until José Padín became Commissioner of Education in 1930.

Under Commissioner Padín, an objective approach, one which utilized the findings of empirical investigation, was applied to the problem of language instruction for the first time since the American occupation. Prior to his appointment, Padín had undertaken a number of studies concerning the language problem from which he concluded that English could be taught more effectively if Spanish were used as the principal medium of instruction. Additional studies by others seemed to corroborate this paradox of the need for teaching more English by teaching less English. The experiences gleaned from these studies led Padín in 1934 to authorize that all grades of the elementary school be taught in Spanish.[1] He declared, "I propose to teach less _bad_ English and more _good_ English, which will give us a net gain for English."[2] English, then, was to be taught as a special subject, with oral English emphasized in the two lower grades, reading and writing in the third, fourth, and fifth, and English conversation again in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. No change was made in the language policy of the high school.[1]

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[1] José Padín, "English in Puerto Rico," La Revista Escolar de Puerto Rico, XIX, No. 7 (March, 1935), 6.

[2] Fife and Manuel, op. cit., p. 12.

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[1] Although surveys carried out in previous years were somewhat in conflict with respect to the extent to which they felt English should be used, the weight of evidence clearly indicated that detrimental effects arose from the use of English as the sole medium of instruction. See Pedro Cebollero, _A School Language Policy for Puerto Rico_ (San Juan: Imprenta Baldrich, 1945), pp. 33-41. Also see Luís Muñiz Souffront, _El Problema del Idioma en Puerto Rico, Esfuerzos de la Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico para Alcanzar la Solución del Problema_ (San Juan: Biblioteca de Autores Puertorriqueños, 1950), pp. 29-64, _passim_.

[2] Padín, _op. cit_., p. 7.

If pedagogical considerations had outweighed all others, the problem of language instruction would have been much simpler than it actually was. Owing to the indefinite political status of the Island and its uncertain future, the role of English in the educational system continued to be affected by a questionable political orientation. Political influence was clearly in evidence when José Gallardo was appointed Commissioner of Education in 1937, before Dr. Padín had an opportunity to prove the merits of his policy.

In the letter informing Dr. Gallardo of his appointment, President Roosevelt said:

> It is an indispensable part of American policy that the coming generation of American citizens in Puerto Rico grow up with complete facility in the English tongue.
>
> What is necessary, . . . is that the American citizens of Puerto Rico should profit from their unique geographical situation and the unique historical circumstance which has brought to them the blessing of American citizenship by becoming bilingual.[2]

Most likely as a result of the pressures from Washington, Gallardo initiated a policy of intensifying English instruction. Although Spanish remained the medium of instruction in the lower two grades of the elementary schools, English became the teaching language for one-third of the time in Grades 3 and 4. Both languages shared equally in Grades 5 and 6, while two-thirds of the instruction was given in English in Grades 7 and 8. In the urban high schools English was to be the language of instruction, while Spanish was to be treated as a special subject.[1] Interestingly enough, however, after five years of public criticism against his policy, in 1942 Commissioner Gallardo, in effect, reverted to the policy of his predecessor by making Spanish again the medium of instruction in the elementary school, while English was taught as a special subject.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Quoted in Osuna, op. cit., p. 377.

This in turn brought on new repercussions--this time in the form of the Chavez Committee, members of the Senate who visited Puerto Rico in 1943. It seems evident that the Senators failed to appreciate the pedagogical implications of the school-language program. They irritated many Puerto Ricans by stressing the necessity of acquiring English as a requisite for close relations between Puerto Rico and the United States. In addition, widespread resentment flared as a result of the publication of a letter in which Secretary of the Interior Ickes caustically rebuked Gallardo for failing to carry out instructions for the teaching of English in Puerto Rican schools.[1]

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[1] Fife and Manuel, op. cit., p. 25.

[2] Osuna, op. cit., p. 381.

Nevertheless, the practice of having Spanish as the general medium of instruction at practically all levels has been in effect since Gallardo.[2] Although there have been changes in the orientation and methods of English instruction, what has most affected the acquisition of English on the Island in recent years has been the increasing role education has come to play in the life of the Puerto Ricans.[3]

It appears that the language program in the schools has been the center of conflict between two opposing camps. On one side are those who feel that in conformity with the avowed objective of having Puerto Rico become a permanent part of the Union, the way to make the people "American" is to make them fluent in English, and the way to do this is to expose them to that language. The opposing view stresses the "insufficiency of English instruction to change the attitudes of the population of the Island" and believes

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[1] Fife and Manuel, op. cit., pp. 37-38. Also, note the reaction of the Puerto Rican Teachers Association against U.S. Government interference with the direction of the Island's school system in "Noticiero de la Asociación de Maestros," Revista de la Asociación de Maestros, II, No. 3 (April, 1943), 80-84.

[2] In 1948 Spanish became the medium of instruction in the senior high schools under Commissioner of Education Mariano Villaronga. See Pauline Rojas, "What's New in the Teaching of English," Revista de la Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico, VIII (December, 1949), 242.

[3] See Morris Siegal, "El Desarrollo Educativo en Puerto Rico de 1946 a 1959," La Educación, XVII (January-March, 1960), 63-72.

"that there are other more real and more feasible objectives to be accomplished in Puerto Rico through instruction in the language of the nation" [i.e., instruction in Spanish]. Moreover, those in the latter group feel that "if the champions of statehood for Puerto Rico realized the tremendous difficulties in the way of giving all the Puerto Ricans a mastery of English comparable to that of the average citizen of the United States, they would shudder at the idea that it is an indispensable prerequisite for the admission of the Island as a State of the Union."[1] The language question, however, has been softened somewhat by the Puerto Rican Organic Act amendment of 1947. This amendment allowed the people to elect their own governor and gave him the authority to appoint heads of executive departments including the Secretary of Education. It also extended most of the rights of United States citizenship to the people of Puerto Rico.

A significant shift in the political-linguistic relationship has come about in recent years. Nationalism in Puerto Rico was initially and, to some extent, still is associated with a popular demand for the use of Spanish as the official language in the schools. When the Organic Act amendment opened the way for administration of education to be freed from federal interference, the demand for Spanish as the language of instruction, which had become a part of the drive for self-government, appeared for the most part satisfied. This did not, however, bury the controversy. In 1956, Congressman Alfred Sieminski made the following statement:

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[1] Pedro Cebollero, "A Language Policy for Puerto Rico," Revista de la Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico, I, No. 2 (August, 1942), 20.

> One seems to find little interest in the English language in Puerto Rico though they are United States citizens. Many come up our way. Time and money is spent on them to help fit them into the cultural and industrial pattern of the community. They use our money, they need it, and they want it, and yet, with the higher ups, the extension of the courtesy of learning our language seems not to be there.[1]

Since Sieminski made these remarks in his capacity as a member of the House Committee on Appropriations, one wonders if he was not posing an implied threat to withdraw federal aid to the Island's educational system in order to force an acceleration of the program of English instruction.[2] It is probable that the implementation of such a policy would have made it more difficult for the average Puerto Rican to forget deeply imprinted resentments against his powerful neighbor.

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[1] Congressional Record, February 22, 1956, p. 3416.

[2] It should be interesting to note, however, that in 1959 Congress dealt with the matter in exactly the opposite manner. Instead of withdrawing aid to force acceleration, it declared English to be a modern foreign language in Puerto Rico, therefore allowing the availability of increased funds for English instruction under the National Defense Education Act. This seems a clear indication that ambivalance continues to characterize the language policy.

In any case, the same pressures that had been built up during Gallardo's term as Commissioner of Education were threatening to reappear in the early 1960s under Cándido Oliveras, even though Spanish had become the medium of instruction throughout the school system for more than a dozen years. It is quite possible that as Gallardo had done, Secretary of Education Oliveras was responding to protest within Puerto Rico against placing high priority on English instruction when he attempted to modify the existing language policy.[1] Whereas Gallardo was concerned with language instruction in the public schools, however, Oliveras directed his invectives at the private schools. In 1962, he threatened to withdraw accreditation of those private schools which continued using English as the medium of instruction. As might have been expected, Congressional reaction was prompt and pointed. The following was the response of Congressman James Roosevelt:

> As long as Puerto Rico retains close ties with the United States through its Commonwealth status, and does not seek independence, I would certainly think it to be in the island's best interest to encourage rather than discourage the use of English.
>
> I am the first to recognize a desire for non-interference in Puerto Rico's internal affairs, and to avoid Federal control of education anywhere. But in this case I feel that Puerto Rico is about to embark on a path that will needlessly handicap its own citizens and drive completely the wedge of a language barrier between our peoples.[2]

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[1] See René Marqués, "Idioma, Politica y Pedagogía," El Mundo, August 16, 1960.

[2] Congressional Record, July 11, 1962, p. 13175.

A more direct contrast can be made between the actions of the Secretary of Education and public statements by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell made some years prior to the threats aimed at the private schools. Powell had declared that an intense campaign should be carried on with the purpose of impressing upon all Puerto Ricans that they should feel proud of being citizens of the United States. He concluded that the public schools ought to intensify the teaching of English and adopt an educational program similar to that employed in a majority of the Island's parochial schools. Presumably, this suggestion referred mainly to English instruction.[1] More recently, Powell remarked that Oliveras' predecessor had been removed from office because of his failure to produce distinct signs of improvement with respect to English instruction in the public schools. Whether or not the statement be true, its intention as a threat was clear, however implied. Clearly, the "Batalla del idioma" had not yet subsided.

The reaction to such statements was predictably intense. Nilita Vientós Gastón, an outspoken critic of the existing language policy, charged that because of the policies of the federal government, the work of the insular Department of Education was not educating Puerto Ricans, but teaching them English with the intention of depriving them of their Puerto Rican character and converting them into Americans.[1] Her criticism is in keeping with earlier declarations on the subject. In 1956, when an American professor, Daniel Boorstin, stated that Puerto Ricans are uniquely fortunate not in having a literary command of Spanish or English, but in possessing the skill of expressing themselves idiomatically in both, Vientós Gastón castigated him for not having a sense of the significance of language. She felt he was not considering it an expression of the spirit and that, in the case of Puerto Rico, he was treating language as one would handle a piece of merchandise.[2]

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[1] Miguel Salas Herrero, "Clayton Powell Insta A Enseñar Más Inglés," El Mundo, December 12, 1959.

For Miss Vientós, the danger of an inappropriate application of the second language, ultimately leading to a deterioration of the ethnic character of Puerto Ricans, did not emanate solely from forces external to the Puerto Rican people. Her warnings extended to the potentially disastrous repercussions if Puerto Ricans themselves could not agree on something as vital as the choice of a tongue for the transmission of knowledge. A people may contribute to deformation of their own spirit, she said, by thoughtlessly changing their language. If they were to transfer their allegiance to a different language, they would be, in effect, "treating bilingualism as if it were a mythological monster, one which bears a new head as soon as the last visible one is cut off."[1]

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[1] Nilita Vientós Gastón, "Otra Vez el Bilingüismo," Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena, No. 16 (July-September, 1962), pp. 9-10.

[2] Vientós Gastón, "Commentarios a un Ensayo Sobre Puerto Rico," El Mundo, March 10, 1956.

If it is at all possible to gauge public sentiment in Puerto Rico, one would have to conclude that there is a growing impatience with what appears to be incessant embranglements of politics and language. There seems to be a clear need for and desire to learn English, but there is no urge to make it part of the national character. Puerto Ricans seem to feel that English has its rightful place in the curriculum as an obligatory subject, but they do not want to be pushed into internalizing what they believe may cause them to become less Latin. Puerto Ricans wish not to renounce their Latin heritage; to become less Latin would make them less of what they are, less Puerto Rican. And, they fear becoming more American only because this may mean becoming less Puerto Rican. At the same time, they are apprehensive about not becoming more American because they realize that "Americanism" will bring with it permanent prosperity and stability--a rare combination in the Caribbean as well as in most of the Latin world. They are ambivalent about their political future, but especially about the consequences of learning English. This brings them to attribute their language difficulties to policies shaped by partisans with motives other than merely pedagogical.[1]

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[1] Vientós Gastón, "Otra Vez el Bilingüismo," _op. cit_. (Translation mine.)

This dilemma is to a large extent the result of having had imposed upon them the American "system." The idea behind the system is to give everyone under its aegis the opportunity to learn and advance. The system, by virtue of its extremely broad base, must dispense its resources in as equal shares as feasible. When the resources are limited, dispensation must be made thinly. With respect to education in Puerto Rico, including English instruction, this means that, although the intellectual gap between the elite and the many is likely to be relatively narrow, the system must resign itself to low quality output and a good deal of frustrated effort.

By contrast, when resources are scarce the "British system" is likely to show more dramatic results: those who are designated as future leaders are extended the resources with which to advance. For the select, resources are not stinted, and the results are controlled for quality. The price paid by this system, however, should be obvious. In a democratic society it is the many who must select their leaders. If the many are uneducated, the educated few may be too remote from the people in whose interests they are presumed to lead.[1]

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[1] Expressions of impatience with allegedly political solutions to educational questions of language can be found in El Mundo, "La Enseñanza del Inglés," December 30, 1963, and Enrique A. Laguerre, "El Famoso Plan de Inglés," El Mundo, August 24, 25, 26, 1960.

The trouble with many of those from outside Puerto Rico who dispense resources for a program of English instruction may be that they assume the American system but expect and demand results more akin to the British system. It appears that American policy makers have expected tangible returns for their dollar investment without realizing that it takes more than money to produce broad changes. Perhaps their efforts have been inadequate, however generous their monetary contribution, because they have not realized how fundamentally ideological these changes would have to be. It is suggested that until a more realistic attitude is taken toward the language question, the dilemma in which Puerto Ricans find themselves may continue unresolved.

If a solution to Puerto Rico's language difficulties is to be found, traditional approaches may well have to be discarded. There have been some major developments, primarily of postwar vintage, which may encourage lifting the language question on to a new and wholly different plane. It may no longer suffice to look at the language problem merely in terms of how much or in what grades

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[1] Mary Proudfoot, Britain and the United States in the Caribbean: A Comparative Study in Methods of Development (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1954), pp. 288-89.

English is to be taught, nor in terms of the quality of teachers and materials, as has been done in the past. At the same time, the promise of education in a democratic order may make the question of to whom English is to be taught an imperative concern. These are matters which have an important bearing upon the problem with which we shall be concerned, and which will be more fully elaborated in succeeding pages.

CHAPTER II

SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

There are a number of reasons which can account for the deliberate absorption by one culture of the language of another. One of the most common relates to the promotion of social cohesion. Countries like India, Malaysia, and Tanganyika have no single indigenous language which is sufficiently predominant to induce cultural homogeneity. Consequently, a "foreign" language serves, at least in part, to facilitate communication and induce a common bond among the various elements in the population. Being not a vernacular, an auxiliary or foreign language is ordinarily not one with which a people can identify intimately. But even if not, it may have the significant feature of being impartial--that is, its imposition would usually not favor one over another of the many subgroups of a nation in the same way that the elevation of the language of one of the groups over the others would. In certain countries, particularly some of those in Latin America, the most prominent language is still "foreign" to a good many subcultures, notably those most isolated and at the periphery of the nation's economy. Where this is the case, the language of the country may itself be employed among the peripheral groups as a second language to promote cohesion with the mainstream of society.

The adoption of a second language may be particularly significant for countries in the throes of modernization in view of the vast changeover in needs they inevitably experience. Nations struggling through initial stages of development are often restricted by a linguistic barrier in their aspirations to become modern. A developing country without means by which to transmit the techniques of science and ideas of technology as developed by other, more advanced nations cannot hope to make a quick leap into modernity. Without a vernacular rich in the literature of scientific and industrial innovation, the adoption of a second language for purposes of development can become vital.

Puerto Rico is somewhat of an anomaly in its adoption of a second language in that it has little need of a linguistic acculturation of its population and that it possesses a "modern" language suitable to the requirements of development. Its people speak the same tongue with only minor regional variations, and are remarkably homogeneous in the culture traits which distinguish them from other societies. The salient differences between them reflect urban-rural and social class variations rather than deep-seated cleavages in culture, religion, or race, which in many other societies appear to be so dysfunctional. The language of the people, besides acting as a cohesive force, is neither primitive nor exotic, but is one of the prominent languages of the world. In view of the relative harmony of the culture and the eminence of the language that serves its people, one may well be skeptical of the reasons set forth for having Puerto Ricans absorb a second language.

Aside from the fact that his own language provides him with an effective means of communication with those within and without his immediate cultural environment, the Puerto Rican may have reason for resenting the imposition of English as a second language. Though he is nominally an American citizen, the Puerto Rican's political status is inferior. It is not simply that he cannot vote for the President or for a voting member of Congress. It is also that he feels dominated by a people who seem to have more than a little difficulty in understanding his political and economic needs and aspirations, who assume that in one or two generations Puerto Ricans can learn English and adopt the entire pattern of American traditions and customs. Furthermore, resentment may be intensified by the islanders' limited choice in the means by which ends are to be accomplished.

Resentment has, in fact, arisen from impatience. American success, optimism, economic aggressiveness, and faith in "the Protestant ethic" tend to shatter the slower tempo of island society. The Puerto Rican appears keenly aware of the many unsettling effects arising from the interplay of cultures on the evolution of cohesive national traditions, ideals, and mores.[1]

However deep anti-colonial resentment may be in Puerto Rico, it is not very articulate--despite occasional acts of underground, but usually innocuous, sabotage. The reason for the inability or reluctance to express resentment overtly may be precisely because Puerto Ricans lack symbols and norms rooted in a consistent national self image. Although there are those who assert that Puerto Rico is to a degree an extension of Spanish society, this is about as inaccurate as saying that Puerto Ricans have adopted American ways. As Morse points out, some of the most outstanding characteristics of Spanish life--a dominant urban culture, an elaborate ceremonial bureaucracy, and a penetrating sense of hierarchy among people in the countryside as well as in the city--have always had an institutionally weak base in Puerto Rico.[2] To be sure, Puerto

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[1] See Vincenzo Petrullo, Puerto Rican Paradox (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947), pp. 127, 130-34, 140, and passim. Brameld gives a somewhat vivid description of nativism, "a collective reaction against assimilative and other processes that have threatened to alter indigenous cultural forms," in Puerto Rico. See Theodore Brameld, The Remaking of a Culture: Life and Education in Puerto Rico (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959), pp. 148, 161-67, and passim.

[2] Richard M. Morse, "La Transformación Ilusoria de Puerto Rico," Revista de Ciencias Sociales, XIV, No. 2 (June, 1960), 359-64.

Rican culture has a Spanish flavor. But there does not appear to be a coherent body of norms and values to which the people adhere that can be clearly characterized as Spanish.

The result is that the threat against their culture, which many Puerto Ricans feel, has a vague and diffuse foundation, since the national self image with which they identify is itself inchoate.[1] Moreover, even if Puerto Ricans did share a coherent value system, they would have difficulty in expressing resentment against American policy. The reason for this difficulty can be seen clearly with respect to the educational program. Unlike the ideologically consistent educational policies that have been established in the British, French, and Dutch Caribbean possessions or former possessions, educational policy in Puerto Rico has been erratic. This is most likely due to the difficulty of assessing the needs of a territory with an indefinite political status. Since these needs are influenced by political sentiment with respect to which a consensus has been rare, American policy has tended to appear fleeting and at times incomprehensible.[2] The effect may be a general discontent, but not a resentment aimed at a precise and stationary target.

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[1] "Operación Serenidad," an apparent reaction by the Commonwealth Government against the lack of a strong national self image, encourages participation in activities emphasizing Spanish tradition and language. See Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (Washington, D.C., 1962), 32-33.

[2] Morse, op. cit., pp. 369-70.

Whatever discontent Puerto Ricans have felt, however, has readily focused on the language problem. As we saw in the last chapter, the language question has represented the one clearest form of cultural collision. Language is the most tangible and the most utilized expression of a civilization and its traditions. It is in its defense that a people with a multi-rooted culture can most conveniently rally in the name of unification and cohesion. The compact size of the country, its isolation from the rest of the Spanish-speaking world, and the effects of recent industrialization have combined to augment the fear Puerto Ricans have of cultural disintegration.[1] And, it may be the threat they feel against their sense of unity that has made second-language instruction suspect for many Puerto Ricans.

Resentment or discontent arising from a fear of the loss of one's national identity is one of a number of forces making difficult a mass cultivation of benign attitudes toward the second language. Other forces may relate to the particular code of values embodied by the people who are expected to take on a language other than their own. Attitudes toward languages are not fostered in a vacuum and, in the case of Puerto Rico, may very likely be shaped in accordance with traditional social prescriptions.

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[1] A good exposition of this fear can be seen in Francisco Ayala, "The Transformation of the Spanish Heritage," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLXXXV (January, 1953), 104-109.

Orientation to a traditional value system

One would be hard-put to characterize Puerto Rico today as an underdeveloped country. Its recent economic growth has been nothing short of spectacular. The hustle of its major industrial and commercial centers resembles that of the most modern countries. Yet in many respects, Puerto Rican society has some of the features attributable to nonindustrial peoples.[1] For one thing, the small group appears to be a relevant unit of social cohesion. Membership in the group is usually strictly circumscribed to persons having long-standing face-to-face relationships. Highly particularistic kinship groups still persist, and their influence extends even to leaders in the development of industry and commerce. The importance of family prestige, reinforced by Spanish-type individualism, has, for example, inhibited many entrepreneurs from adding to their staff specialists who were not members of the family, or from merging their family-interest businesses with the interests of outside groups.[1]

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[1] For a description of these features, see Bert F. Hoselitz, "Main Concepts in the Analysis of the Social Implications of Technical Change," _Industrialization and Society_, ed. Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), pp. 12-14.

It may also be true that particularistic group behavior and the system of traditional values it implies may have consequences for the school. The child caught up in the cultural life of an agrarian social order is not likely to view education in the same way as one more affected by the forces of industrialization. Rapidly developing countries committed to egalitarian ideals have the problem of educating many children to whom education has little functional value; relatively few children benefit from history, mathematics, etc. in terms of securing positions in the occupational structure. The school in such countries is caught in a curious predicament. On the one hand, it acts to select, recruit, and equip the future participants of the newly emergent industrial and commercial sectors of economy; on the other, it is expected to serve those who remain in the traditional agrarian milieu. Its responsibility concerning the first function is critical--the school is the only institution in the society capable of large scale preparation of youth for participation in the developing order. Its second function is less secure because of the ever present possibility that preparation for agrarian life can be performed better elsewhere.

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[1] Thomas Cochran, The Puerto Rican Businessman: A Study in Cultural Change (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), p. 163.

Within Puerto Rican schools, English may be the subject upon which culture conflicts come into sharpest focus. No other subject is so directed at those who are to be recruited into the "emergent sector" of the economy. English is the most exact embodiment of the school's effort to initiate the child into a culture pattern by which people are evaluated and ranked according to their monetary gains. For one raised in the traditional manner, schooling can open the way to strange values, such as relying upon impersonal acquaintances for the heretofore unaccepted and unacceptable goal of advancing one's social status.

Holding membership in a "folk" group circumscribes one's relationship to the outside world. An individual socialized in a traditional agrarian manner may well be suspicious of persons outside his own tightly knit social organization. He may be oriented to a way of life in which sentiment and tradition, rather than reflective thought, are the basis of decision-making. He may feel a sense of dignidad, an inner worth or a pride in himself, regardless of what others outside his own immediate environment may think. To such a person, the learning of English may be viewed as a worthless objective. Since the first language, Spanish, serves him completely as a medium of communication, English would be used only with those people who normally do not have a commonality of interests or a reciprocal understanding of one's inner worth requisite to being part of the severely restricted in-group. Second-language learning would be instrumental, therefore, in establishing only the loosest of interpersonal relations, the importance of which many Puerto Ricans may have great difficulty in appreciating. At best English would, for those in the traditional sector, be considered a convenience; it would certainly not be considered a necessity. At worst, English may pose a threat to believers in a traditional ethos; it may be viewed as contributing to an attenuation of particularistic patterns. However diffuse may be the feelings which make it difficult for the pupil endowed with traditional values to associate his welfare with learning in school, the child should find it most difficult to perceive a need for learning English.

It would be difficult to estimate the extent to which a particular traditional value system impedes learning English. There is little doubt that English instruction has not yet brought about a bilingual population. However, we cannot be certain as to whether this is due to the prevalence of a traditional system of values or to ineffective instruction in English. To be sure, some dissatisfaction has been expressed over instruction in other subjects also--but it is instruction in the English language that has fallen furthest below expectations. A former secretary of education has openly declared that, in spite of "extraordinary efforts" to improve the teaching of English, the consequences have been almost entirely disappointing.[1] There appears to be in Puerto Rico a growing belief that no matter how great the efforts to "intensify" English instruction the results will prove inadequate.[2] Despair arises out of findings which show, for example, that the English aptitude of students admitted to the University of Puerto Rico in 1959 was clearly inferior, on the average, to that of students entering in 1948.[3]

But if progress in learning English has been inhibited by traditional values, it may not be unreasonable to expect success in the future. Social change in Puerto Rico may yet undermine such values and break down resistances to learning the language. This may be true particularly for individuals most directly affected by economic and technological development. In fact, there is reason to believe that the social and economic change being experienced at present may actually be effecting a balance between traditional values and those more in step with a developing economy.

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[1] See Dimas Planas, "Oliveras Hits Island English Instruction," The San Juan Star, December 12, 1964. Also see "An Honest Appraisal," The San Juan Star, December 12, 1964.

[2] See Eliseo Combas Guerra, "En Torno a la Fortaleza," El Mundo, July 18, 1962.

[3] Approximately 70 per cent of those entering the University in 1948 received English grades above the median for those admitted in 1959. Test scores revealed that, although the general ability levels between the two groups differed little, the more recently admitted group appeared to have a notably inferior English aptitude than that of the 1948 group. See Ismael Rodríguez Bou, Director, Estudio del Sistema Educativo, Informe de la Division de Investigaciones Pedagógicas del Consejo Superior de Enseñanza a la Hon. Comisión de Instucción de la Cámara de Representantes de Puerto Rico (Río Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1961), I, 250-51, and II, 1560.

Education and changing values in an emergent order

Regardless of the validity in the past of assertions that one primary reason for learning English is migration to the continental United States,[1] it is evident that this factor no longer has much bearing.[2] Far more relevant to the language problem than the nebulous possibility of residing in the continental United States today is the general development program Puerto Rico is undergoing and the concomitant expansion of educational services and facilities. According to Rodríguez Pacheco,

> During the decade 1948-49 and 1958-59 the gross national product doubled itself, and it is expected that it will double again from 1960 to 1970. Other indicators of progress are equally impressive. In

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[1] See, for example, Christian Caselmann, Lamberto Borghi, and Morton Bredsforff, "The Education System in Puerto Rico: Recommendations and Suggestions" (unpublished report to Governor Muñoz Marín by the Advisory Committee of European Educators, 1959), p. 60 and passim.

[2] In 1953, the year of greatest migration to the United States, 19,124 Puerto Ricans moved to the continent. Ten years later, 5,479 more Puerto Ricans moved back to the Island than settled on the continent. Clarence Senior, The Puerto Ricans (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1965), p. 39.

> 1940 only half of the school population attended school, as compared with 80 percent at the present time. The average life-span has risen from 46 to 68 years in the same period; the death rate dropped from 18.4 per thousand population to 6.8; literacy rose from 68.5 to 83.0.[1]

The government of Puerto Rico is making considerable improvements in its educational system. The Commonwealth, in fact, has become a world leader in percentage of national income spent on education.[2] Of course, the degree of effort does not yield a complete picture; Puerto Rico is still in the incipient stages of development and, in absolute terms, the resources available for education are quite limited. While the annual per pupil expenditure is roughly twice that for Latin America as a whole, it is a good deal lower than that for the poorest states in the Union.[3] All in all, a very strong effort is being made to improve public education, and there is notable progress toward the end of giving every child at least a primary education.

Along with progress in education, a new value system in step with industrial development appears to be emerging in Puerto Rico: one that gives a preference to the nuclear family, emphasizes occupational mobility, and is oriented to North American and Western European market traditions. It is markedly distinct from the system described earlier which focused upon the agricultural productive unit and strong kinship ties. The duality created by juxtaposed value systems has resulted in there being "two sets of criteria by which men are ranked; . . . two sets of organizations or productive capacities; . . . and two sets of attitudes appropriate to effective participation in the two structures, . . . and these two [systems] coexist . . . in considerable mutual tension."[1] Moreover, Tumin suggests that, "while it is possible to assign sectors of actors to one of the major cultural emphases, on the basis of their apparent primary involvements, almost all Puerto Ricans are strategically connected to both major cultural orientations, even if connections with one seem less regular and obvious than those of the other."[2]

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[1] Osvaldo Rodríguez Pacheco, *Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Puerto Rico* (Hato Rey: Department of Education, June, 1963), p. 5.

[2] The percentage was 6.9 in 1956 as compared to, for example, 4.3 for the United States in 1958. *Ibid*., pp. 10-12.

[3] Net expenditures per pupil in 1950-60 for Puerto Rico was $120. In Latin America, the annual per pupil expenditure is $68. Expenditure per pupil for Alabama, which has the lowest per pupil expenditure in the United States, was $217 for 1960-61. *Ibid*., pp. 14-15.

In contrast to the traditional value system, an emergent system may be characterized as emphasizing external success and tangible accomplishment in the evaluation of human behavior. It is the system under which North Americans are generally assumed to function. It is one that is directed toward group decision and in which, often enough, negative sanctions are brought to bear upon those who are considered overly individualistic. It is an other-oriented system in which one does not evaluate himself on the basis of his own inner integrity but on the basis of the opinion of his peers. The system is geared to success and winning, and a high premium is put on the means to these goals. Technological innovation; the establishment of friendly, even if superficial, interpersonal relationships; and rational, calculated action are all included as accepted means within the system. Neither emotional feeling and sentiment nor art and abstract idea have much of a part to play in an environment oriented to pragmatically-based activity.[1] It is not difficult to see how such materialistic values could have a dysfunctional effect on individuals participating within the context of the traditional system.

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[1] Melvin M. Tumin, Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 471.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 472.

That a substantial emergent value system has been operative even in the early post-World War II years in Puerto Rico was demonstrated by Mellado in an early investigation of moral commitment of Puerto Ricans. Admittedly, the study concentrated on an intellectually superior sample, but it did reveal a marked tendency away from traditional individualism and toward socialization and the sanctioning of group action, especially governmental action, in many phases of Puerto Rican life. The findings indicated also that among the intellectually superior, at least, a strong concept of authority is firmly rejected and that "dogmatism and absolutism have given way to experimentalism and democracy."[1]

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[1] See Cochran, op. cit., pp. 128-30 and 153-54.

Factors contributing to the rise of the emergent value system

Several factors have contributed to the rise of an emergent system of values in Puerto Rico. In contrast to businessmen in primarily aristocratic societies, Puerto Rican businessmen do not lack social prestige, and the most able members of the middle and upper classes are not discouraged from choosing a career in industry. In the second place, the ties between government and elites are not such as to limit business opportunity. Whatever political influence was enjoyed by the old upper class had been lost during the liberal régime of Governor Muñoz Marín. Instead, a new university-educated middle class group has come to staff and influence the government.[2]

The most important development, however, has been a major shift in the occupational structure, from one dominated by primary and some secondary industry to one emphasizing tertiary, high level manpower (Table 1). It is evident that this shift is toward the structure found in the United States.

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[1] Ramón A. Mellado, Culture and Education in Puerto Rico (Educational Monograph No. 1; San Juan: Puerto Rico Teachers Association, 1948), pp. 79-107.

[2] Cochran, op. cit., pp. 73-74 and 77.

TABLE 1[a]

EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER IN PUERTO RICO AND UNITED STATES, BY SELECTED MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

	Puerto Rico			United States
Occupational group	1940 %	1950 %	1960 %	1960 %
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	2.9	4.8	7.8	10.5
Farmers and farm managers	9.4	6.5	3.2	4.1
Managers, officials, proprietors	4.7	6.1	7.3	10.0
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	5.5	7.5	11.0	13.1
Operatives and kindred workers	18.0	16.8	18.0	17.5
Service workers, except household	3.7	5.3	7.7	9.6
Farm laborers and foremen	34.8	30.9	19.9	4.9
Laborers, except farm	5.3	5.3	6.2	5.9

[a] Osvaldo Rodríguez Pacheco, Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Puerto Rico (Hato Rey: Department of Education, June, 1963), pp. 24-25.

This occupational realignment clearly signals the increasing importance of education in the social structure. Education is the essential ingredient in the formation of a highly skilled and professional class. Wherever there is use of proportionately "better" manpower, there must be a concomitant growth in the number of educated people (Table 2).

The demands made by the industrial revolution in Puerto Rico for highly skilled personnel have resulted in a greatly expanded occupational structure. Opportunities appear to be attracting those who previously had only modest ambitions. Wide opportunity and a social system that is relatively open have made the increased potential for achievement a major sign of progress. In this system, one can no longer stand still and be successful, for one of the prime marks of success has become the distance one has moved from a previous lower position. In fact, degree of mobility may be approaching the importance of simple material gain as a criterion of accomplishment.

Occupational mobility as a factor in social change

Social class is important because it has an integral association with social mobility and achievement.[1] The middle-class Puerto Rican is likely to have reached his position recently by merit, since opportunities for social and economic advancement have begun to expand rapidly only

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[1] There is good evidence for the existence in Puerto Rico of a strong positive correlation between occupational rank and occupational mobility which holds through the occupational ladder. See Tumin, op. cit., pp. 386-87.

TABLE 2[a]

PERCENTAGE OF EDUCATIONAL GROUPS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupation	Years of school completed[b]					
	0 %	1-4 %	5-8 %	9-12 %	13+ %	Total %
Professionals, semi-professionals	0.0 (0.1)	3.1 (0.3)	7.7 (3.2)	16.9 (20.9)	72.3 (75.6)	100.0
Business owners, business managers, white-collar salesmen[c]	12.6 (0.5)	25.2 (1.6)	24.4 (16.7)	26.8 (46.8)	11.0 (34.5)	100.0
Owners and managers of farms	26.4 (1.8)	35.9 (9.3)	28.3 (47.5)	7.5 (34.4)	1.9 (6.9)	100.0
Secretaries and clerks[c]	3.1 (0.2)	3.1 (1.1)	15.4 (16.8)	66.2 (56.7)	12.3 (25.3)	100.1
Skilled industrial workers[c]	11.0 (0.7)	41.5 (3.8)	33.9 (34.3)	12.7 (53.0)	0.9 (8.2)	100.0
Semi-skilled industrial workers[c]	26.3 (1.3)	32.2 (6.7)	28.8 (41.2)	11.9 (46.4)	0.9 (4.3)	100.1
Service workers, blue-collar salesmen[c]	21.7 (2.3)	24.8 (8.0)	30.2 (39.2)	22.5 (42.9)	0.8 (7.6)	100.0
Agricultural day laborers	45.5 (10.3)	35.7 (25.4)	16.8 (42.7)	2.1 (19.0)	0.0 (2.7)	100.1

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[a] Melvin M. Tumin, Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 66, and U.S. Census of Population: Educational Attainment (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1962).

[b] Percentages for U.S. are in parentheses below those for Puerto Rico.

[c] Categories are similar but not wholly equivalent for Puerto Rico and U.S.

during the last two decades. By virtue of his mobility, he has demonstrated a will to achieve, one that he is likely to pass on to his children in the hope that they too will attain a higher place in the social structure. A good education is most often necessary to obtain one of the newly emergent jobs associated with high socio-economic status. Education is therefore likely to be sought after by the middle class child who, because of living in an environment charged with high expectations, should be more achievement-oriented and mobility-minded than his lower class peer whose parents have not yet seen fit or have not the capabilities necessary for moving up the social ladder.[1]

Tumin, in his study of social change in Puerto Rico, concluded that the lower classes do not think of success or failure in the same terms as do people at higher levels. Instead of using the directly observable and tangible criteria of wealth and social prominence, lower-class individuals view success in terms of individual effort and ingenuity. As one obtains an education and thereby increases his mobility potential, he is more likely to compare himself upward and downward on the social ladder. In this manner, education intensifies the stimulus to mobility of those already becoming mobile. As the stimulus becomes more intense, expectations heighten, leading to a greater sense of frustration with one's current position among those with more education.[1] Thus, as education becomes more common, there should be a steadily growing orientation toward mobility.

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[1] Education appears positively related to occupational mobility among those at all levels in the educational continuum. "In effect, the more mobility an individual has had, . . . the more likely he is to perceive the importance of education for mobility." _Ibid._, pp. 405-406 and 409.

On the one hand, education, income, and occupation are widely used criteria by which Puerto Ricans evaluate their social position. Yet, Puerto Ricans do not generally view the inequalities among rankings in the social structure as insuperable obstacles. They have a sense not only of participating in an open society; they view new opportunities as being, if not immediately available, within the grasp of their children. There seems to be a growing tendency at all levels of the society to aspire for better things and a higher position for the coming generation. And education represents the most important means by which Puerto Ricans can move to a better life.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 111-15 and 177-78. It is interesting to note that the director of the government's psychiatric hospital, Dr. Juan Rosello, declared that a disconcerting increase in the number of cases of emotional disorder in Puerto Rico has been brought about by the country's rapid social and economic changes. The highly competitive nature of the society, he felt, is causing upheavals in Puerto Rican life, particularly within traditional family patterns. The majority of cases of emotional disorder appear, moreover, to be occurring among those persons desiring to or in the process of moving up socially and economically. See A. W. Maldonado, "Social Change Brings Emotional Disorders," The San Juan Star, February 28, 1961.

Social classes may, however, vary in the extent to which they count on education to better their lives. Unlike the highest classes which place much faith in educational opportunities to improve themselves, members of the lower classes tend to rely very heavily on continued extension of government aid.[2] Class differentials occur also with respect to family ties. The lower class child is much more bound to his family, primarily because of economic demands which are difficult to overcome. By contrast, "the middle and upper class child is relatively free to go and do as he sees fit; he need only observe within the family circle the rules of obedience and respect for his parents.[3]

The traditional system of values, then, is giving way to a new, more dynamic one. The rate of occupational mobility seems to be increasing. As each generation becomes more mobile than the last, achievement of appropriate skills and adequate training become more requisite for successful participation in the emergent system. The acquisition of skills and training, as these are in turn fed back into the social order, accelerates industrialization and opens ever more widely the structure of society. As an increasing number of persons become initiated into the emergent system, the middle-class expands at the expense of the lower, more traditional-bound groups.

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[1] Tumin, op. cit., pp. 164-65 and 200-201. Tumin, however, notes that a fair percentage of the lowest groups have little hope for their children to advance beyond their present levels of existence.

[2] Ibid., pp. 206-207. [3] Ibid., p. 271.

The at least partial attenuation of older value patterns is reflected in the growing economic emancipation of the Puerto Rican woman and a corresponding weakening of _el culto de la virginidad_, the belief, among other things, that the woman's place is in the home where she is subject to her husband's will. Four related factors would seem to account best for the growing freedom experienced by women. First, there has been an apparent breakdown in the old familial system of authority and male dominance. Hill, Stycos, and Back report that in only 20 per cent of the families they studied did the wife feel she would be forbidden to leave home unescorted. Moreover, about half of the husbands and 70 per cent of the wives felt that the wife had the right to work gainfully.[1] The second factor relates to the disparity in values between social classes and the greater tendency of the expanding middle-class to deviate from traditional norms and mores. Fernández Méndez suggests that the lower-class woman is likely to find the means to break the old authoritarian order, whereas the relative freedom from economic restrictions enjoyed by the middle or upper-class female results in her having greater absolute freedom.[1] Tumin notes that it is the upper-class male who turns over the widest range of decision-making authority to his wife.[2]

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[1] Reuben Hill, J. Mayone Stycos, and Kurt W. Back, _The Family and Population Control: A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change_ (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), p. 58.

Thirdly, and perhaps most important, economic development has brought with it unprecedented opportunity for the Puerto Rican woman to free herself from dependence on her spouse. Of the jobs created by the establishment of new industries, 67 per cent have been filled by women.[3] A higher level of living has reduced the economic pressures on women to seek work, but the proportion of women in the working force is increasing. Lastly, it has been shown that the more educated are generally more prone to believe that girls can benefit as much from education as boys, and, indeed, a substantial percentage of all Puerto Ricans hold this belief.[4] There has been a notable increase in the number of girls attending high school.[5]

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[1] Eugenio Fernández Méndez, *La Identidad y la Cultura: Críticas y Valoraciones en Torno a Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Ediciones "El Cemi," 1959), pp. 134 and 140-42.

[2] Tumin, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[3] Rodríguez Bou, *op. cit.*, I, 10.

[4] Tumin, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11.

[5] Rodríguez Bou, *op. cit.*, I, 10.

English as a factor in social mobility

In a discussion of the contribution of education to social change, it may be relevant to ask if certain educational components are perceived to have greater instrumental value than others in terms of vertical mobility and attainment of emergent-type goals. We have already noted how English learning may present a threat, and be perceived as such, to the traditional system of values. Yet English may also be viewed as a means by which one can elevate himself in the emergent social hierarchy. Unlike other aspects of education, language skills are immediately perceptible. There is therefore no more obvious way to demonstrate one's educational accomplishments (and in Puerto Rico this is almost tantamount to saying social position) than by means of language.

Mastery of English in Puerto Rico is essential in science, engineering, medicine, and in an increasing number of commercial and business activities. As distance becomes less of a geographic and social barrier, moreover, the utilitarian aspects of the language become increasingly important. This appears to be true also for the consumption features, those associated with leisure and aesthetic enjoyment. At the present time, in fact, one television and at least three radio (two commercial and one military) stations, a daily newspaper, and a cultural review use

English as the operating medium. Dramatic economic growth and the creation of new social and cultural needs have thus led English to be a prevalent as well as a desired commodity.

Distinctiveness of language provides overt demonstration of one's economic importance and social position and, as such, serves as a ticket of admission into the world of the select. The same mechanisms which tend to make mode of speech an arbiter in the selection of individuals for power and position within the ambience of a single language may apply also in bilingual environments. Given persons of equally high ambition, those who view the second language as a crucial means of fulfilling their aspirations are more likely to advance in the social structure. As in other countries where the auxiliary language is that of the metropole, English in Puerto Rico may be perceived by the ambitious as being particularly functional in their newly developing economy.

If we assume that middle-class persons are more upwardly mobile than those of lower status, they should be more likely to view the second language as a means of elevating themselves. Bernstein notes that certain linguistic forms are strategic for educational and occupational success, and these forms are culturally, not individually, determined.[1] In a bilingual environment, the upwardly mobile individual can achieve a linguistic superiority in two ways--by acquiring a more formal linguistic form in his own language and by acquiring a command of the second language. But it may be the second language that is more closely associated with the emergent sector of the economy and attendant high socio-economic status. By acquiring second-language fluency, and hence by more fully meeting the linguistic requirement of a developing economy than by having mastery merely over the native language, the middle-class person is more likely to get a better job and increase his status potential. Other things given, this would mean that with an expansion of the middle class and an increase of mobility opportunities, the acquisition of a second language proficiency should be becoming increasingly desired in Puerto Rico.

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[1] Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," Education,

Our problem is concerned largely with the relationship between mobility aspirations and the acquisition of second-language skills. There is evidence that in Puerto Rico the level of education of an individual and the value system within which he operates tend to complement each other. Those with more education are more likely to adopt emergent-type values, values most conducive to a developing

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Economy, and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education, ed. A. H. Halsey, Jean Floud, and C. Arnold Anderson (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), pp. 288-89. Also see James H. S. Bossard, "The Bilingual as a Person--Linguistic Identification with Status," American Sociological Review, X, No. 6 (December, 1945), 699-709.

economy. Those with less generally are content to continue under the traditional system.[1] Cultures and subcultures have been known to transform or adapt languages to suit social needs just as they have been known to reject unwanted idioms because of negative connotations associated with them.[2] In Puerto Rico, it is likely that the upward mobile are using English to suit their particular needs, to augment their capacity for mobility. As there is an expansion of the middle class, the great reservoir of mobile individuals, so should there be an increasing and parallel demand for education and English skills. That a demand for both has indeed been growing is suggested by Table 3.[3]

The increasingly high importance placed on English fluency in Puerto Rico may be attributable to the commitment of the society to an emergent system of values. But this commitment does not appear such as to move the society in the direction of accepting the same standards of social

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[1] See Tumin, op. cit., pp. 273-77.

[2] See Renzo Sereno, "Boricua: A Study of Language, Transculturation, and Politics," Psychiatry, XII, No. 2 (May, 1949), 176.

[3] A disproportionately high number of English speakers may have left the Island by 1950, this period coinciding roughly with the huge upswing in migration to the continent, which may account for the absence of an increase in the proportion of the population able to speak English for that year. Persons were reported as able to speak English if they could make themselves understood in the language.

TABLE 3[a]

PERCENTAGES OF PUERTO RICANS 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER ABLE TO READ AND WRITE SPANISH, AND THOSE ABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH

Census year	Those able to read and write Spanish %	Those able to speak English %
1960	83.0	37.7
1950	75.3	26.1
1940	68.5	27.8
1930	58.6	19.4
1920	45.0	9.9
1910	33.5	3.6

[a] U.S. Census of Population, 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics (Puerto Rico) (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1962).

action as exist in the United States. That is, the adoption of an emergent value system does not necessarily mean that the country has gone "modern" or become more American. The traditional system still exerts its influence even among those deeply involved in modernization. Traditional values continue to permeate criteria of social stratification, feelings of class consciousness, and general social participation even within the emergent order. Thus, for example, Tumin suggests that occupation in Puerto Rico may not be the single most useable criterion of class structure as it is in the United States.[1] And, although Puerto Ricans appear very conscious of class and mobility, they are more likely, at least in the short run, to accept complacently a specific position in the social hierarchy than Americans from the mainland.[2] Moreover, Cochran notes that even among the business elite, Spanish culture "may be taken as a pole toward which deeply patterned customs and attitudes have tended."[3]

The point being made is that, if the emergent value system were simply displacing the traditional, it would be fairly easy to predict the success of an English language program in Puerto Rico. Since English is almost exclusively identified with emergent values, all we would need to do is observe the relative growth in numbers of those individuals with a keen perception of the advantages of acquiring skills commensurate with a developing economy. As we have just noted, however, the question may be much too complicated to be studied by mere observation of the replacement of a traditional by an emergent system. A clear perception of a functional importance of English by Puerto Ricans may depend upon the manner of and extent to which conflicting values are made to coexist and become resolved or dissolved in the process of social and economic development. To improve our prognostic capacity regarding the learning of English, we would therefore have to ascertain the implications of social change for the participation of the Puerto Rican child in the school environment.

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[1] See Tumin, op. cit., p. 458. Tumin suggests that wealth, luxury, comfort, and education are more important criteria than occupation.

[2] See Cochran, op. cit., pp. 126-27.

[3] Ibid., p. 122.

English as an instrument of the middle classes

An adequate understanding of social change and whom it is most likely to affect requires an awareness of the differential conditions of life in Puerto Rican society. This is not to say that change is restricted to only certain segments in the social organization. But the present day social and economic structures are a good deal more complex and fragmented than they were seventeen years ago when Siegal characterized them as being of a "singular homogeneity."[1] Before and at the start of "Operation Bootstrap," the program of economic development in Puerto Rico, few people could acquire the economic means that many are finding today for advancement in the society. Those who have been able to advance live in an environment very much different from those who have not, and this has had a very significant bearing upon inculcation of values on the child.

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[1] See Morris Siegel, "A Puerto Rican Town" (unpublished manuscript; Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1948), pp. 88 and 104.

Not only do the middle and upper classes possess a relative wealth of reading matter and participate to a much greater extent in aesthetic and educational activities, but they are able to provide their children with the funds necessary for a quality education in a society where resources have been extremely scarce.[1] Padín suggests, in fact, that the reason most Puerto Ricans have not learned English is the same as that for not being adequately educated in general--they simply have not had the financial means by which to continue with their schooling, and the government has not been in a position to extend its services amply enough to them.[2]

The extent to which the Puerto Rican upper and middle classes enjoy the benefits of education relative to the lower is pointed out by Nieves-Falcón, who notes that on the whole every step up in school grade level brings with it a disproportionate increase in the proportion of children of upper, and especially white-collar middle, classes enrolled.[3] Besides not having the financial means by which to further their education, the children of lower class parents are much more inclined to feel dissatisfaction with school and to lack academic aspirations, these being prevalent causes of school desertion at all levels.[1] Moreover, as we would expect, the lower class person appears to be less ambitious, less oriented to modernization, and in short, less prone to change the environment he lives in. As Back reports, "His attitude, that is, his disposition to act, points also toward the past, rather than toward control of the future."[2] Attitudes conducive to acceptance of a static environment cannot but militate against the school as an instrument of change.

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[1] See Lydia J. Roberts and Rosa Luisa Stefani, Patterns of Living in Puerto Rican Families (Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1949), pp. 209-15.

[2] See José Padín, "Relación de Isla con EU," El Mundo (San Juan), April 3, 1954.

[3] Luís Nieves-Falcón, "Recruitment to Higher Education in Puerto Rico with Special Reference to the Period 1940-1960" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, May, 1963), pp. 108-113 and 115. The author suggests, for example, that by the time they reach

That a relationship exists between parental socio-economic status and academic achievement among Puerto Rican children has been established for some time.[3] Recently, additional evidence indicated that among 11th graders,

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the university level, the professional class has twice their proportion in the labor force attending school, while small business has four times, both of which are in excess of the corresponding proportions in the last secondary grade.

[1] See Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 923-25.

[2] Kurt W. Back, "The Change Prone Person in Puerto Rico," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Fall, 1958), 338-40. Also see Kurt W. Back, Slums, Projects and People: Social Psychological Problems of Relocation in Puerto Rico (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1962), pp. 71-74.

[3] See Felix Mejias, Condiciones de Vida de las Clases Jornaleras de Puerto Rico (Río Piedras: Junta Editora de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1946), p. 187.

father's socio-economic status correlates more positively with English proficiency than with achievement in other subjects. At least at this grade level, achievement in no other subject was as sensitive to changes in motivation as was that in English.[1] These findings give credence to the view that in Puerto Rico English fluency is a primary means by which the middle and upper groups attempt to distinguish themselves from others. By being able to employ a language divergent from that of other classes, the professional and business groups can make prominent their special interests and activities. This is not to say that in Puerto Rico these groups need ordinarily utilize the English language in everyday affairs, but there is reason to believe that to use it as circumstances require is becoming part of the standard equipment by which they are able to distinguish themselves from those lower in the social hierarchy.[2]

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[1] Pedro Rivera-Rivera, "Liberal or General Studies as Preparation for College Work: A Study of the Effectiveness of One Such Program and of the Significance of Some Selected Psychological-Sociological Factors in Determining Its Effectiveness" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, March, 1965), pp. 40, 49-50, and 76.

[2] A good example of an organized attempt by high social status groups to distinguish themselves through the use of English is the recent formation of an English language periodical, The San Juan Review. The magazine is a cultural periodical ("arty," so to speak), concerned with an area of society over which the upper class has traditionally held sway, and the values of which the middle class has come to emulate. The Review, furthermore, does not appear at all to be an instrument by which mainland-rooted individuals attempt to unite themselves within an alien culture.

Moreover, it becomes increasingly incumbent upon the lower classes, if they wish to elevate themselves, to acquire a facility in English. Sereno suggests that the effect of a second language on the values and mores of those in the lower classes who strive for mobility may be quite extensive where an auxiliary language is imposed.

> This process [by which a new language tends to enlarge the gulf between elite and non-elite] places upon the non-elites the burden of an almost total change of culture symbolized, or rather synthesized in the acceptance of a new language as the necessary price for mobility in the socio-economic scale--mobility which depends on intercourse with the elite; intercourse with the elite demands the elite's approval, cooperation, or at least propinquity. These factors can be achieved only by mastering the elite's language.[1]

In general, there may be ecological differentials in the extent to which English is perceived to have functional value. The rural areas comprise the bastion of traditional life and values; conditions in these areas might not be conducive to the learning of English. The urban sectors, on the contrary, are the centers of change and opportunity. As there is an increase in the importance of trade and manufacturing, job opportunity in the cities becomes an ever more critical component in social change. Opportunity is multiplied by a knowledge of English because of the fact that those industries which are constantly gaining in importance depend for their existence mainly on the United States market.[1]

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[1] Sereno, op. cit., p. 169.

English as an instrument of the urban sectors

In studying the characteristics of change-prone persons, Back found that those who are most forward-looking or most willing to change their environment are those who have most opportunity for social mobility, i.e., individuals who live in the industrial centers.[2] The urban resident generally has the best chance of securing both a high income and a high school education or better. The lack of opportunity in the rural areas, on the other hand, places a greater stress on the labor of the yet-to-be-educated child, reduces the number of well-educated people who can serve as positive models, and offers fewer potential uses to which advanced education can be put.[3]

Thus, social mobility is related not only to social class, but similarly to opportunities for employment and advancement in the social structure. The fact that Puerto Rico is a relatively open society in which individuals advance increasingly by merit, and that the Commonwealth is undergoing marked economic progress allows perceived opportunity for advancement to become a potentially critical factor for language learning. Where opportunities exist, perception of their possibilities for social and economic advancement should be more frequent. Due to the increasing demand for highly skilled manpower, English and the education with which it is associated may be powerful factors in advancement; the desire for their possession may be closely allied to the opportunities which allow one to climb the socio-economic ladder. Consequently, where these opportunities are most likely to be found, motivation to acquire English and an education should be strongest. Since opportunities have been created in Puerto Rico primarily by industrial development, the urban centers of economic emergence should be the most likely environment for creating high motivations for learning English and for the attainment of an education. This is demonstrated by Table 4, which shows the aggregate association between income, schooling, and place of residence. Table 5 illustrates the generally close relationship between amount of education, ability to speak English, and place of residence.

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[1] See Werner Baer, The Puerto Rican Economy and United States Economic Fluctuations (Social Science Research Center; Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, n.d.), pp. 3-4 and 21-25. Also see Ingreso y Producto: Puerto Rico (Santurce: Junta de Planification, 1964), pp. 1, 9, 12-13, and 15. Many United States companies have moved plants and facilities into Puerto Rico because of extensive tax benefits offered by the Commonwealth government. These companies are likely to stress the use of English at least at the managerial levels.

[2] Back, Slums, Projects, and People, p. 74.

[3] Tumin, op. cit., pp. 45, 55-57, 61-64, 70-73, and 216.

TABLE 4[a]

MEAN WEEKLY INCOME OF FIVE EDUCATIONAL GROUPS, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Years of school completed	Mean weekly income, by residence		
	San Juan $	Other urban $	Rural $
0	18.41	18.00	13.41
1-4	21.73	20.00	15.98
5-8	35.50	24.74	24.37
9-12	53.28	39.21	33.12
13+	73.68	68.38	36.61

[a] Tumin, op. cit., p. 61.

TABLE 5[a]

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MALE POPULATION, BY STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, OVERALL URBAN, AND RURAL AREAS

Social characteristics	Standard metropolitan statistical areas			All urban	Rural
	Mayaguez	Ponce	San Juan		
Median school years completed	5.4	5.5	8.1	6.5	3.6
Percentage able to read and write Spanish	87.3	86.3	90.6	87.8	79.0
Percentage able to speak English	42.3	42.0	52.0	49.0	28.0

[a] U.S. Census of Population, 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics (Puerto Rico).

As early as 1943 it was found that rural pupils in grades 1 through 12 scored significantly lower on ability tests than urban pupils. About 75 per cent of the urban pupils scored above the average of the rural pupils.[1] Recent tests yield similar results.[2] It is then not surprising that, while 96 per cent of the children in the urban schools complete elementary school (i.e., 6th grade), only 58 per cent do so in the rural areas. Aside from the intellectually inferior home environment in the rural areas, the gap between urban and rural pupils appears to be augmented by the lower quality and quantity of physical facilities and the comparative lack of training of the teachers in rural schools. According to Nieves-Falcón, this disparity between urban and rural schools perpetuates separate school systems, "one for the 'privileged' urbanites, and the other for the 'underprivileged' ruralites."[3]

The urban-rural differences are, as one might expect, reflected in English achievement. Tests at various grade levels show urban pupils consistently outscoring rural pupils in both oral and written ability.[1] But the extent of these differences in English becomes most striking when we compare them to differences in a general ability to read and write. Whereas the difference in an ability to read and write in general between the urban and rural population is only 9 per cent (88 per cent for urban less 79 per cent for rural), the urban-rural difference is 21 per cent (49 per cent for urban less 28 per cent for rural) in the ability to speak English (Table 5).[2]

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[1] Fife and Manuel, op. cit., pp. 229-31.

[2] See Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 255-64. In the survey directed by Rodríguez Bou, it was found, for example, that on a test of Spanish reading comprehension with a maximum point total of 25, the average score of urban public school fourth graders was 12.1, while that for the rural public was 9.2. At the sixth grade level, 47 per cent of the rural students scored over half or more on the test, while 70 per cent of the urban pupils did so.

[3] Nieves-Falcón, op. cit., pp. 54-59.

Value differences between pupils in public and private schools and implications for English learning

We have noticed that urban youth live in an atmosphere which is more conducive to learning English. But we should notice also that certain segments of the urban school population are more likely to achieve at a high level. Specifically, children attending private schools, having a financial and academic superiority, are in an advantageous position for appreciating the benefits of learning English. These children have, for the most part, received the privilege of obtaining special instruction because they display high academic achievement, presumably as a result of their having parents with substantial incomes and social status.[1] Indeed, studies have indicated that the socio-economic level of children attending private schools is significantly higher than the level of those in the public schools.[2] The private-school children are more likely to come from stable homes where both parents are present, where the parents have reached a higher level of education and participate to a larger extent in social and cultural activities, and where reading materials are easily accessible. And, once having become a participant in the private school environment, the child encounters, relative to his public school age-mate, more things to learn, a greater degree of regimen and discipline, an association with classmates of high intellectual and social level, and pressures to read more and to reduce the amount of time allotted for non-academic activity.[3]

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[1] In English tests administered as part of the survey directed by Rodríguez Bou, it was found, for example, that out of a maximum score of 91, urban public school sixth graders had an average score of 47 in written comprehension, while that for rural pupils was 43. At the same grade level, out of a maximum total of 31, urban pupils scored an average of 18.2 on oral ability, while rural pupils scored an average of 13.4. See Rodríguez Bou, *op. cit*., I, 258-59.

[2] *U.S. Census of Population, 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics (Puerto Rico)* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census), p. 121.

Most important, the private school youngster has a better opportunity to experience and practice the English language both at home and in school. The chances are that he has parents who have an economic incentive and social desire to be acquainted with English and who impress upon their children the importance of knowing that language. The same parents are most likely to urge an intensification of English instruction in the schools to the extent, according to one report, that 90 per cent of the parents having children who attend Catholic (private) schools in the diocese of San Juan and Arecibo have expressed a desire to see the English program increased and broadened in their schools.[1] At the same time, the child may find an immediate necessity to know the language in order to get by in school, either because he has North American teachers who are not fluent in Spanish, or because some or all of the nonlanguage subjects in his school are taught in English, or for both reasons.

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[1] Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 335.

[2] It is estimated that less than 10 per cent of the public school students reach the median socio-economic level of the private school pupils. Ibid., I, 335-37, II, 1602-03 and 1875-78. Also see Table 124.

[3] Ibid.

It is to be expected, then, that the private school pupils score higher not only on tests of general ability, but also on English achievement tests.[2] In view of these expectations, it should be noted that in the testing of achievement in subjects common to both types of schools, English-language achievement seems to be the area of greatest divergence between the two groups. The private school pupils far outstripped those from the public schools in the ability to express themselves in and comprehend English, and they were apparently able to achieve differentially better in this than in any other subject tested.[1] Bearing in mind the social status differential between the groups, this finding is an additional indication that English provides a means by which those at the middle and upper rungs on the socio-economic ladder can preserve and encourage their distinctiveness. For them, English is recognized as having a value worthy of being firmly impressed upon one's children.

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[1] It is significant that an organization which urges the preservation of Spanish in the schools was founded in response to a growing fear that most of the private schools would soon adopt English as the medium of instruction. See E. Combas Guerra, "En Torno a la Fortaleza," El Mundo, September 21, 1963.

[2] Actual test scores show that private school pupils score significantly higher than their public school peers. In tests administered as part of a survey, ninth grade pupils from private schools which use Spanish as the medium of instruction (rather than English as do some private schools) had an average score of 41.3 (out of a maximum of 60) in a test of Spanish reading comprehension, while public

The significance of the socio-economic gap between public and private schools, which is reflected in achievement, may be perpetuated or even widened because of new values created by economic development and the opening up of the social structure. It stands to reason that, as the middle class expands, an increasing number of individuals become vertically mobile and seek help in their striving for

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urban ninth graders had an average score of 32.2. In a test of English language achievement, ninth graders from private schools teaching in English had an average score of 87.2 (out of a maximum of 91) and those from private schools using Spanish scored an average of 71.0, while urban public school ninth-grade pupils had an average score of 55.4. See Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., pp. 252-64, and cf. Fife and Manuel, op. cit., pp. 237-38.

[1] Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 252-64, and II, 1537.

mobility. As previously mentioned, education may be perceived as aiding upward mobility, and the higher the quality of education the more functional it may be perceived as being. The private school, having the resources to obtain high quality teachers and materials and being allowed to select only better students, is the more likely to provide an education perceived as having the highest utilitarian value for movement in the social structure. At the same time, the lack of facilities in the public schools make it ever more difficult for public instruction to satisfy the needs for higher social and academic standards demanded by the expanding middle class.[1]

An indication of the strong demand for high-quality private education is the rapid growth in the proportion of students enrolled in private schools. In 1945-46, enrollment in these schools constituted 4.1 per cent of the total student population; this proportion grew to 5.2 per cent in 1950-51 and to 8.4 per cent in 1959-60.[2] It is estimated that by 1975 the proportion will have grown to 16 per cent,[3] and predictions have run as high as an eventual 25 per cent.[4] That Puerto Ricans are in increasing numbers seeking the kind of instruction extended by private schools, instruction which emphasizes English learning, may be evidence that the attainment of English skills is becoming a prerequisite for an education satisfactory to the emerging middle class.

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[1] See Nieves-Falcón, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

[2] Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 334. [3] Ibid.

[4] See Robert Heifetz, "Manpower Planning: A Case Study from Puerto Rico," Comparative Education Review, VIII, No. 1 (June, 1964), 33.

Potential intergenerational differences in attitudes toward English

In the preceeding paragraphs we considered potential attitudes toward the learning of English as viewed from several vantage points. Initially we took cognizance of possible impediments to such learning arising from a clash with traditional values and then noted that, in the social order which is newly emerging, disparities in social class, residence, and type of schooling may be leading to subgroup differentials in motivation regarding the attainment of English-language skills. To complete this discussion, the way in which the rising generation reacts to developments in the new order as compared with generations passed and passing is to be considered.

Tumin suggests that occupational and educational mobility is accelerating, with the result that children of the present generation differ more from their parents than children of the previous generation did from theirs.[1] In addition, the young, being more mobile than their predecessors, appear to be a good deal more receptive to change,[2] and this receptivity is likely to increase with a growing exposure to school.

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[1] Tumin, op. cit., p. 458.

[2] Back, Slums, Projects, and People, p. 74.

Exposure is becoming greater as children receive schooling for a greater average number of years.[1] As socioeconomic and academic aspiration levels are heightened, so is the likelihood that English will be perceived as being instrumental to the achievement of ever higher goals. Consequently, it appears that today's children would have more reason to value English than had previous generations.

A question of rewards

The problem with which we are concerned is related to the kinds of rewards Puerto Ricans use to induce conformity to norms and to the positioning of persons in appropriate places in a changing social structure, and how these rewards help shape attitudes toward the learning of English. Davis and Moore mention three kinds of rewards society has at its disposal: rewards contributing to sustenance and comfort, to diversion and recreation, and to self-respect and ego expansion.[2] Within the traditional order of values, one which stresses personal dignity and the ultimate worth of even the humblest individual, English may hold little value for attaining these rewards. In the traditional fold, the criteria for satisfaction are the same minimal standards accepted and acceptable by one's ancestors. English need not be mastered to provide sustenance in such an environment. Diversion and recreation similarly are easily satisfied. The men have their local _tavernas_, omnipresent gathering places for gossip and friendly union with _hombres de confianza_. The women find sufficient diversion in taking care of their children, and here also English serves little purpose. Finally, self-respect and ego expansion can be satisfied only by means of assertion and unblemished defense of one's _dignidad_. Here, the man may find reward in being a real _macho_, in fulfilling the traditional role of manhood, while his wife may preserve her self-respect by rigorously conforming to _el culto de la virginidad_. Under these terms, learning English should be of little value.

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[1] Tumin, op. cit., p. 92.

[2] Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review, X (April, 1945), 243.

On the other hand, under a system of emergent values English may become, if not crucial, increasingly instrumental in the acquisition of rewards. Standards of sustenance and comfort are high, and English skills may be useful in obtaining a job with a salary adequate to meet levels aspired to. Diversion and recreation become associated with "high culture" which requires a sophisticated awareness of arts and politics. English tends to multiply the sources of "culture" and may become valued as a means of increasing one's appreciation of the consumption features of the new order. And, as self-respect and ego expansion become dependent on social and economic position, demonstration of English fluency may become a prerequisite for the attainment of satisfying rewards.

Our problem concerns the extent to which social change contributes to a general desire to learn English, and the degree to which different segments of the population have come to value acquisition of that language. Rewards associated with the learning of English may be differentially diffused as a result of the second language being more functional for certain subgroups than others. On the other hand, the nature of the society may be such as to favor broad diffusion in the perception of the values of learning English. After all, Puerto Rico contains a relatively compact, homogeneous society in which regional, ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic variations are not appreciable. Technological innovation is not apt to be an isolated phenomenon affecting discrete sectors of the population. Being a small and densely populated island, Puerto Rico contains virtually no remote areas. The accessibility of communities to the industrial world may assist in the infusion of new ideas and patterns of living. Social change, therefore, may well seep into the roots of "folk" society in which links with the emergent social order may be quite open.

Moreover, the government has taken measures specifically designed to better living standards in the less industrialized areas, the effects of which are likely to facilitate social change. For example, greater tax benefits are extended to those enterprises which locate away from the large urban centers; industry in the lesser populated regions may draw large numbers of people away from agrarian activities and stimulate an alteration in their system of values.

Implicit in this discussion are a number of major questions. As they are used to guide the analysis of data, these questions are stated as follows:

1. Does an evolution of emergent values in Puerto Rico lead the upper or middle-class child and the urban child to attach a comparatively greater importance to the functional aspects of English?

2. Does the child in an urban area and the upper or middle-class child show a greater determination to learn English as indicated by work done for assignments, future intentions to study and make use of the language, amount of practice in the language, and importance given to a knowledge of it?

3. Are children in the upper or middle-classes and in urban areas more likely to express a desire for and have more parental encouragement to learn English, to have more experience with English outside of school, and to do better in their English classes?

4. Are these same children more apt to perceive English as symbolizing political and economic power and to perceive it as embodying "high culture"?

5. Do private schools, those which ordinarily place greater emphasis on English, draw students whose attitudes are the most favorable to the language?

6. Do pupils coming from homes where siblings and parents are accustomed to English find usage and acceptance of the language facilitated?

7. Are children who are more mobility-minded likely to have more favorable attitudes toward learning English as a result of that language being sought after as a tool in social mobility?

8. Since conditions conducive to an emergent value system have only recently evolved, is the younger generation, having been given ample exposure and the opportunity to take advantage of these values, more likely than the older to perceive the benefits of English instruction?

9. Does a stigmatic cultural association of English with a subordinate political status exist among certain subgroups of the student population?

10. Are there sex differences in attitudes toward English?

The questions enumerated above were examined by means of a survey of attitudes of Puerto Rican ninth-grade children and their parents. A sample of 703 public-school pupils was chosen from a population of 36,432 and stratified by three areas: San Juan metropolitan area, other urban areas, and rural areas. Catholic-school pupils were also sampled; 196 were selected from a population of 3,804. Since there are virtually no ninth-grade parochial school pupils in the rural areas, Catholic-school children were stratified by San Juan metropolitan area and other urban areas. In addition, a systematic subsample was taken in both types of schools to determine which pupils were to bring home questionnaires to parents.[1]

The results of this investigation may have important implications concerning Puerto Rican society. Finding that children strongly value a knowledge of English and that attitudes toward that language are not based on social class or urban-rural differences, that they are broadly diffused, may indicate that these attitudes are shaped by a largely egalitarian social order. Finding that attitudes toward learning English are influenced by an orientation to social mobility and that many individuals are mobility-conscious may suggest, moreover, that the second language is viewed widely as an important instrument for attaining life goals. If the social structure in Puerto Rico is relatively open and English is viewed as an important means of acquiring a better life, the second language may be significant to aspirations commensurate with a new social order.

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[1] Details of the sampling technique and the use of questionnaires are given in Appendix A.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDE VARIATIONS BY RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX

The potential importance of residence, social class, and other environmental factors in shaping attitudes toward English was observed in the last chapter. Our main concern now is to determine if attitudes related to learning the second language are rather uniformly diffused throughout the population of ninth-grade public school pupils, or if these attitudes vary significantly from one subgroup to another.

The questions dealing specifically with the influence of residence, social class, language environment, and sex, as they were used to guide the analysis of data, are as follows: (1) How do such factors relate to achievement in English? (2) What is their relationship to motivational intensity in English? (3) In what ways do they influence a general desire to learn English in contrast to the amount of effort actually spent (i.e., motivational intensity) in acquiring the language? (4) How do they relate to an instrumental orientation (i.e., one involving attitudes directed at accomplishing specific ends)? (5) Do they bear upon the amount of parental encouragement to study English (as well as study in general)? (6) To what extent do they influence the amount of English employed by the student? (7) How do they affect identification with the language and the culture it represents? (8) Do they have a bearing on English as a symbol of political power and economic well-being? (9) How do they relate to a perception of English as embodying "high culture"? (10) Do they relate to the way in which English is associated with national or cultural identity? (11) In what ways do they shape attitudes toward Americans?

As will all tables used to introduce sections in Chapters III and IV, Table 6 presents a summary of relationships expressed in terms of Z scores. These Z scores express strength of association; table footnotes indicate probability levels. A relationship with a Z score of over 1.65 may be considered moderately strong and one over 2.25 as very strong. For example, the relationship between area of school (i.e., San Juan metropolitan, other urban, or rural) and grade in English (Z = 1.85) may be interpreted as moderate, while that between amount of English spoken by parents and English grade (Z = 4.41) is extremely strong.

Since Table 6 is only a summary table, however, it does not yield a complete description. A very high Z score may be due really to the contribution of certain cells with an undesirably low number of expected observations. Where such is the case it will be so indicated by a footnote.

TABLE 6

Z SCORES AND PROBABILITY LEVELS FOR RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN GRADE OF PUPIL IN ENGLISH AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX

Factors	Grade of pupil in English
Area of school	$Z = 1.85^a$
Birthplace of child[c]	$Z = 1.89^a$
Birthplace of parents[c]	$Z = 1.82^a$
Education of father	$Z = 2.71^b$
Education of parents	$Z = .45$
Occupation of father	$Z = -.48$
Socio-economic position	$Z = -.58$
English speaking siblings	$Z = 3.42^b$
Amount parents speak English	$Z = 4.41^b$
Sex	$Z = 3.80^b$

[a] $P < .05$.

[b] $P < .01$.

[c] As categorized not only by San Juan Metropolitan area, other urban areas, and rural areas, but also by whether born in the continental United States or somewhere outside the United States and Puerto Rico.

But perhaps more important, the Z score does not tell us much about the linearity of the relationship--i.e., if it is positive or negative and the consistency with which it is so. In other words, Table 6 tells us that there is a moderate relationship between residence and English achievement, but the question remains as to whether the more urban the child is the more likely he is to have higher grades in English. The table indicates also that there is a strong relationship between father's education and English grade, but again it yields little information on the likelihood of individuals "high" on the independent variable (i.e., pupils having fathers with relatively much schooling) achieving high in English. For this last purpose we observe the pattern of normal deviates for the related variables. Table 9, for example, confirms what we might have suspected from Table 6; children having fathers with substantial schooling are, for the most part, most likely to receive high grades in English. This is evidenced by the high positive normal deviates representing pupils receiving As and Bs and who have fathers with more than twelve years of schooling, as compared to the negative values representing children with fathers of high education and who receive lower grades.

That the Z scores of Table 6 are of limited use is indicated, moreover, by the fact that, although the relationship between grade in English and English speaking siblings shows a lower Z score than that for the relationship between English grade and amount parents speak English, a comparison of the normal deviates in Tables 7 and 8 suggests that the former is the more consistently positive relationship. The very high positive normal deviate (2.68) for the upper left hand cell[1] in Table 7 relative to the pattern of other normal deviates in the table suggests a strong positive relationship. By the same token, though the pattern of normal deviates for Table 8 indicates a mostly positive relationship, the pattern is not nearly so coherent as that for Table 7. For a more elaborate description of the measures of analysis used here, refer to Appendix E.

English achievement

English achievement was measured by the pupil's grade in English. As indicated by Tables 7 and 8, achievement is related very strongly to language environment. We found a much weaker, though significant, association with our three measures of residence: area of school, birthplace of child, and birthplace of parents. Each of these had a Z score of or close to 1.85, significant at the .05 level. On the other hand, with the notable exception of father's education (Table 9), socio-economic status appeared to have little bearing on achievement. Finally, we found a very strong relationship with sex in that girls achieve substantially higher than boys in English (Table 10).[2]

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[1] This cell represents the category of students receiving an A in English who are from families with more than three siblings able to speak English, or from families with less than four in which all can speak the language.

[2] We should note, however, that the relationship does not hold for those pupils with superior grades.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF ENGLISH GRADES, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Grade					Row total
	A	B	C	D	E	
More than 3 or all	14.1 (24)	20.6 (35)	37.6 (64)	25.3 (43)	2.4 (4)	100.0 (170)
1-3 but not all	7.5 (19)	14.3 (36)	42.5 (107)	32.9 (83)	2.8 (7)	100.0 (252)
None	4.3 (8)	11.4 (21)	39.7 (73)	37.0 (68)	7.6 (14)	100.0 (184)
Col. tot.	8.3 (51)	15.2 (92)	40.3 (244)	32.0 (194)	4.1 (25)	99.9 (606)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	2.68	1.81	-.49	-1.60	-1.21	
1-3 but not all	-.38	-.37	.61	.18	-1.15	
None	-1.83	-1.31	-.08	1.12	2.19	

$\chi^2 = 30.44$
D.F. = 8

Z = 3.42
$P < .01$

One would expect the higher achievers to come from families where parents and siblings use English. Less clear in their implications are the results for residence and social status. Apparently a chance to use English is more important than social or economic background in determining motivation. However, father's education is strongly and positively related to the pupil's English achievement. At the same time, the comparatively high achievement exhibited by girls may be "explainable" by their often-demonstrated superior linguistic ability.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF ENGLISH GRADES, BY AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH

English speaking parents[a]	Grade					Row total
	A	B	C	D	E	
1	9.1 (1)	18.2 (12)	27.3 (3)	45.4 (5)	.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
2	6.7 (4)	20.0 (12)	55.0 (33)	18.3 (11)	.0 (0)	100.0 (60)
3	20.4 (19)	24.7 (23)	31.2 (29)	21.5 (20)	2.2 (2)	100.0 (93)
4	9.2 (6)	16.9 (11)	36.9 (24)	27.7 (18)	9.2 (6)	99.9 (65)
5	5.6 (26)	12.2 (57)	40.9 (190)	36.1 (168)	5.2 (24)	100.0 (465)
Col. tot.	8.1 (56)	15.1 (105)	40.2 (279)	32.0 (222)	4.6 (32)	100.0 (694)
Normal deviates						
1	.12	.26	-.68	.79	-.71	
2	-.38	.97	1.81	-1.87	-1.66	
3	4.20	2.38	-1.37	-1.79	-1.10	
4	.33	.37	-.42	-.61	1.73	
5	-1.88	-1.59	.22	1.58	.55	

[a] Categories: (1) mother or father or both speak English all or most of the time; (2) mother or father or both speak English occasionally, especially with their children; (3) mother or father or both speak English occasionally, and at times do so with their children; (4) mother or father or both speak English occasionally, but not with their children; (5) mother or father never speak English.

$\chi^2 = 54.59$　　　　$Z = 4.41$

D.F. = 16　　　　$P < .01$

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF ENGLISH GRADES, BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

Grade level	Grade A	B	C	D	E	Row total
Above 12	13.3 (6)	28.9 (13)	28.9 (13)	28.9 (13)	.0 (0)	100.0 (45)
10-12	7.5 (8)	17.8 (19)	37.4 (40)	34.6 (37)	2.8 (3)	100.1 (107)
7-9	15.1 (21)	12.9 (18)	38.8 (54)	27.3 (38)	5.8 (8)	99.9 (139)
1-6	4.8 (17)	14.1 (50)	44.5 (158)	31.8 (113)	4.8 (17)	100.0 (355)
0	8.9 (4)	11.1 (5)	26.7 (12)	46.7 (21)	6.7 (3)	100.1 (45)
Col. tot.	8.1 (56)	15.2 (105)	40.1 (277)	32.1 (222)	4.5 (31)	100.0 (691)
Normal deviates						
Above 12	1.23	2.36	-1.19	-.38	-1.42	
10-12	-.23	.68	-.44	.45	-.82	
7-9	2.90	-.68	-.23	-1.00	.71	
1-6	-2.19	-.54	1.32	-.10	.27	
0	.18	-.70	-1.42	1.72	.69	

$\chi^2 = 35.55$ Z = 2.71

D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF ENGLISH GRADES, BY SEX

Sex	Grade					Row total
	A	B	C	D	E	
Male	8.4 (26)	10.6 (33)	35.0 (109)	39.5 (123)	6.4 (20)	99.9 (311)
Female	7.8 (30)	18.6 (72)	44.3 (171)	26.2 (101)	3.1 (12)	100.0 (386)
Col. tot.	8.0 (56)	15.1 (105)	40.2 (280)	32.1 (224)	4.6 (32)	100.0 (697)
Normal deviates						
Male	.20	-2.02	-1.43	2.31	1.51	
Female	-.18	1.82	1.28	-2.07	-1.36	

$\chi^2 = 24.88$
D.F. = 4

Z = 3.80
$P < .01$

Motivational intensity

With regard to motivational intensity (as measured by Part 5 of the questionnaire--see Appendix B) we observe a somewhat different picture. Here we find little association with either residence or socio-economic status (Table 11).[1] The data on language environment were mostly

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[1] Table 11 shows high Z scores for certain relationships with motivational intensity which are not mentioned in the text, because data analysis indicated that their statistical significance was due mainly to the contribution of an overabundance of cells having an insufficient number of expected observations.

TABLE 11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEASURES OF MOTIVATIONAL INTENSITY AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Motivational intensity[a]						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Area of school	.42	-1.14	1.49	.67	1.36	.31	1.39
Birthplace of child	2.90[b]	-1.78	.86	1.25	4.19[b]	.43	.17
Birthplace of parents	1.61	-1.27	1.11	-.29	.09	-.57	-.53
Father's education	1.21	-.06	.99	.44	1.79[c]	1.23	.29
Parents' education	.86	.21	.09	-.25	1.95[c]	-.51	.95
Father's occupation	.33	-2.45	1.66[c]	-.43	.90	-3.55	1.33
Socio-economic position	-.27	-1.99	1.64	-.86	.86	-2.23	3.01[b]
English speaking siblings	1.10	1.32	.41	2.40[b]	.89	.75	.08
Amount parents speak English	.91	1.84[c]	1.55	.61	4.39[b]	-.02	.43
Sex	1.24	.73	1.52	.87	3.65[b]	.31	.46

[a] Categories: (1) amount pupil studies relative to others; (2) amount pupil thinks about ideas learned in English class; (3) where pupil would go to learn English if not in his school; (4) amount pupil studies English per week; (5) amount of effort put into learning English; (6) extent to which pupil plans to use English after finishing school; (7) composite index of motivational intensity.

[b] $P < .01$. [c] $P < .05$.

inconclusive, the figures for even the stronger relationships with motivational intensity lacking a clearly positive or negative direction.

However, a noteworthy association of sex with motivational intensity was found, particularly with respect to effort put into learning English (Table 12). As one can

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO EFFORT PUT INTO STUDY OF ENGLISH, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Male	18.3 (58)	52.4 (166)	12.0 (38)	9.8 (31)	7.6 (24)	100.1 (317)
Female	12.9 (50)	66.1 (255)	13.5 (52)	3.6 (14)	3.9 (15)	100.0 (386)
Col. tot.	15.4 (108)	59.9 (421)	12.8 (90)	6.4 (45)	5.6 (39)	100.1 (703)
Normal deviates						
Male	1.33	-1.73	-.41	2.38	1.53	
Female	-1.21	1.57	.37	-2.15	-1.39	

[a] Categories: (1) considering how I do in my English studies, I can honestly say that I try to learn English as well as a person from the United States; (2) I make a sincere effort to learn English; (3) I work hard enough to familiarize myself with English; (4) I will pass on the basis of sheer luck or intelligence; (5) I will probably fail.

$\chi^2 = 23.54$ $Z = 3.65$

D.F. = 4 $P < .01$

see by the normal deviates, the relationship is generally positive. Nevertheless, as we observed in the case of English achievement, the general pattern does not appear to hold for pupils at the top of the scale, in this case for those who feel they put most effort into learning English.

Thus, it appears that neither proximity to industrial and commercial centers nor superior social and economic home environment have much to do with motivation to learn the second language. On the other hand, sex does have an influence; where an association was found with motivational intensity, girls tended to react more positively than boys.

Not only do reactions associated with the expenditure of effort in English learning tend to be rather uniformly diffused over the ninth-grade population, but they appear to be generally favorable. Approximately three-fourths of the students indicated that they make a fervent effort to learn English, that they would make a positive attempt to learn English even if it were not taught in their school, and that they at least plan to make a positive effort to use their knowledge of English after completing school. On the other hand, while 60 per cent felt they studied about as much English as their classmates, 28 per cent thought they studied less, and only 11 per cent thought they studied more. Moreover, a majority reported they studied English at home only about two hours per week, this being an indication that actual effort falls somewhat short of idealized effort.

Desire to learn English

We find at least as positive a reaction to measures of desire as we did with those of motivational intensity (i.e., effort expended) with respect to second-language learning. Approximately 80 per cent of our sample found the study of English interesting if not fascinating and felt that it should be taught to everyone. About two-thirds indicated that English was a preferred subject and that they paid close attention in class. A majority said that, after having begun an assignment in English, they felt a strong interest in what they were doing and that, given the opportunity and sufficient knowledge of the language, they would often read materials in English. Perhaps the most interesting response of all concerns the amount of English the pupils felt should be taught relative to that taught at present: almost 60 per cent expressed a desire to have the amount of English increased (over 20 per cent indicated a desire to have it as the language of instruction for most subjects).[1]

As in the case of motivational intensity (i.e., effort spent in studying English), there is little association between either residence or social status and desire to learn English. On the other hand, we find some relationship with desire to learn English for language environment and sex (Table 13). Table 14 indicates a strong relationship between extent to which siblings speak English and how interesting pupils find English study. Significant relationships with the amount parents speak English were found with "pupil's preference for English compared to other subjects" (Table 15) and with the "composite of responses in desire to learn English" (Table 16).[1] Moreover, we again find that girls tend to react more positively. Tables 17 through 20 suggest that girls express more favorable attitudes regarding preference for English compared to other subjects, how the pupil would change the amount of English taught, how interesting pupils find English study, and the composite of responses in desire to learn English.

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[1] It should be noted here that the schedules were in Spanish and the questionnaire was distributed by the teacher so as not to give the impression that a North American was collecting the data (see Appendix A).

Accordingly, it seems that living, having lived, or having parents who have lived in areas of greatest opportunity, or coming from a comparatively favorable social and economic environment have little to do with either desire or motivational intensity in learning English. In other words, attitudes conducive to desire and motivation in English learning, being for the most part highly favorable, appear

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[1] "Composite" is used here to refer to the arithmetic average of responses to questions in a "Part" of the questionnaire (e.g., the average response to questions in "desire to learn English").

TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEASURES OF THE DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Desire to learn English[a]							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Area of school	1.42	1.52	-1.85	.66	.61	.21	1.38	-.51
Birthplace of child	2.02[b]	-.77	-.72	-1.18	-.43	.61	1.52	-.28
Birthplace of parents	-.41	1.56	.22	-.43	-.45	-2.47	.58	-.93
Father's education	-.18	-.00	.28	-.08	-.99	.79	1.63	.41
Parents' education	-.93	-.17	1.60	-.29	-.25	1.17	.98	.77
Father's occupation	.30	-.56	-.67	-.90	1.29	1.62	.71	.21
Socio-economic position	.39	-.17	-.45	-1.46	.49	1.79[b]	-.11	-1.49
English speaking siblings	1.54	.39	.06	1.57	.28	-.44	3.28[c]	-.11
Amount parents speak English	2.28[b]	-.51	.10	1.67[b]	-.24	-1.55	1.64	2.75[c]
Sex	2.34[c]	1.46	.59	1.31	2.65[c]	1.43	2.24[b]	2.30[b]

[a] Categories: (1) preference for English compared to other subjects; (2) attentiveness in English class; (3) amount pupil would read materials in English; (4) extent to which pupil becomes absorbed in his English studies; (5) way in which pupil would change amount of English taught; (6) to whom pupil feels English should be taught; (7) how interesting pupil finds English study; (8) index of desire to learn English.

[b] $P < .05$.

[c] $P < .01$.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF INTEREST RESPONSES TO ENGLISH STUDY, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
More than 3 or all	12.8 (22)	68.6 (117)	18.6 (32)	.6 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (172)
1-3 but not all	6.3 (16)	71.7 (180)	18.6 (47)	2.8 (7)	.8 (2)	99.9 (252)
None	6.4 (12)	66.3 (124)	17.1 (32)	9.6 (18)	.5 (1)	99.9 (187)
Col. tot.	8.2 (50)	68.9 (421)	18.2 (111)	4.3 (26)	.5 (3)	100.1 (611)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	2.13	-.15	.23	-2.26	-.90	
1-3 but not all	-1.00	.47	.29	-1.20	.75	
None	-.83	-.44	-.24	3.53	.13	

[a] Responses: (1) I find the study of English fascinating; (2) I find the study of English interesting; (3) I find the study of English neither more nor less interesting than most subjects; (4) I find the study of English boring; (5) I find the study of English loathsome.

$\chi^2 = 28.00$ $Z = 3.28$
D.F. = 8 $P < .01$

to permeate the public school population, transcending lines of social class and residence. Such attitudes are affected somewhat by the pupil's language environment and to a more substantial degree by sex.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH OVER OTHER SUBJECTS, BY AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH

English speaking parents[a]	Response					Row total
	Most preferred 1	2	3	4	Least preferred 5	
1	36.4 (4)	54.5 (6)	9.1 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
2	40.0 (24)	38.3 (23)	15.0 (9)	5.0 (3)	1.7 (1)	100.0 (60)
3	36.2 (34)	39.4 (37)	16.0 (15)	1.1 (1)	7.4 (7)	100.1 (94)
4	26.6 (17)	28.1 (18)	17.2 (11)	6.2 (4)	21.9 (14)	100.0 (64)
5	26.7 (123)	38.0 (175)	22.8 (105)	3.0 (14)	9.5 (44)	100.0 (461)
Col. tot.	29.3 (202)	37.5 (259)	20.4 (141)	3.2 (22)	9.6 (66)	100.0 (690)
Normal deviates						
1	.43	.92	-.83	-.59	-1.03	
2	1.54	.10	-.93	.79	-1.98	
3	1.24	.29	-.96	-1.15	-.66	
4	-.40	-1.23	-.57	1.37	3.18	
5	-1.03	.15	1.11	-.18	-.01	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 8, supra, p. 78.

$\chi^2 = 31.58$
D.F. = 16

$Z = 2.28$
$P < .05$

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE OF RESPONSES IN DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH, BY AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH

English speaking parents[a]	Response					Row total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
1	20.0 (2)	80.0 (8)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (10)
2	10.2 (6)	74.6 (44)	13.6 (8)	1.7 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (59)
3	13.0 (12)	68.5 (63)	15.2 (14)	3.3 (3)	.0 (0)	100.0 (92)
4	.0 (0)	65.6 (42)	25.0 (16)	9.4 (6)	.0 (0)	100.0 (64)
5	5.0 (23)	65.5 (298)	26.8 (122)	2.6 (12)	.0 (0)	99.9 (455)
Col. tot.	6.3 (43)	66.9 (455)	23.5 (160)	3.2 (22)	.0 (0)	99.9 (680)
Normal deviates						
1	1.72	.51	-1.53	-.57	.0	
2	1.18	.73	-1.57	-.66	.0	
3	2.57	.20	-1.64	.02	.0	
4	-2.01	-.12	.25	2.73	.0	
5	-1.08	-.38	1.44	-.71	.0	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 8, *supra*, p. 78.

χ^2 = 27.27
D.F. = 12

Z = 2.75
$P < .01$

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH OVER OTHER SUBJECTS, BY SEX

Sex	Response					Row total
	Most preferred 1	2	3	4	Least preferred 5	
Male	29.6 (92)	32.2 (100)	21.2 (66)	4.8 (15)	12.2 (38)	100.0 (311)
Female	28.8 (110)	42.1 (161)	19.6 (75)	1.8 (7)	7.6 (29)	99.9 (382)
Col. tot.	29.2 (202)	37.7 (261)	20.4 (141)	3.2 (22)	9.7 (67)	100.0 (693)
Normal deviates						
Male	.14	-1.58	.34	1.63	1.45	
Female	-.13	1.43	-.31	-1.47	-1.31	

$\chi^2 = 13.42$
D.F. = 4

Z = 2.34
$P < .01$

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO PREFERENCE FOR CHANGING AMOUNT OF ENGLISH TAUGHT, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Male	19.7 (62)	33.6 (106)	34.6 (109)	6.7 (21)	5.4 (17)	100.0 (315)
Female	24.0 (92)	39.7 (152)	31.6 (121)	2.9 (11)	1.8 (7)	100.0 (383)
Col. tot.	22.1 (154)	37.0 (258)	33.0 (230)	4.6 (32)	3.4 (24)	100.1 (698)
Normal deviates						
Male	-.90	-.97	.51	1.73	1.87	
Female	.82	.88	-.46	-1.57	-1.70	

[a] Categories: (1) I would make English the language of instruction for most subjects; (2) I would increase the amount of English required of each student; (3) I would maintain the amount of English taught at present; (4) I would decrease the amount of English required of each pupil; (5) I would not have English taught at all.

$\chi^2 = 15.49$　　$Z = 2.65$

D.F. = 4　　$P < .01$

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF INTEREST RESPONSES TO ENGLISH STUDY, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Male	8.2 (26)	63.4 (201)	21.1 (67)	6.9 (22)	.3 (1)	99.9 (317)
Female	9.1 (35)	72.8 (281)	14.8 (57)	2.8 (11)	.5 (2)	100.0 (386)
Col. tot.	8.7 (61)	68.6 (482)	17.6 (124)	4.7 (33)	.4 (3)	100.0 (703)
Normal deviates						
Male	-.29	-1.11	1.48	1.85	-.30	
Female	.26	1.00	-1.34	-1.67	.27	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 14, _supra_, p. 87.

$\chi^2 = 12.76$
D.F. = 4

$Z = 2.24$
$P < .05$

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE OF RESPONSES IN DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH, BY SEX

Sex	Response 1	2	3	4	5	Row total
Male	5.2 (16)	61.2 (188)	29.0 (89)	4.2 (13)	.3 (1)	99.9 (307)
Female	7.2 (27)	71.1 (268)	19.4 (73)	2.4 (9)	.0 (0)	100.1 (377)
Col. tot.	6.3 (43)	66.7 (456)	23.7 (162)	3.2 (22)	.2 (1)	100.1 (684)
Normal deviates						
Male	-.75	-1.16	1.91	.99	.82	
Female	.68	1.05	-1.72	-.90	-.74	

$\chi^2 = 13.13$

D.F. = 4

$Z = 2.30$

$P < .05$

Instrumental orientation to English

There is little to suggest association between our independent variables and measures of the instrumental importance of English (Table 21). An exception is the

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEASURES OF INSTRUMENTAL ORIENTATION AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Instrumental orientation[a]				
	1	2	3	4	5
Area of school	2.10[b]	1.66[b]	2.54[c]	-.05	-.80
Birthplace of child	1.40	.78	-1.07	.40	-2.01
Birthplace of parents	.63	-2.63	-.63	-.74	-.56
Father's education	-.14	-.18	-1.15	1.10	-1.43
Parents' education	.74	-1.51	-2.24	2.22[b]	.04
Father's occupation	.42	-.07	-.53	.44	.38
Socio-economic position	.70	.70	-1.11	.65	-.37
English speaking siblings	.67	.83	1.13	.93	.81
Amount parents speak English	.67	-.50	.89	.70	1.46
Sex	.20	1.80[b]	1.18	.73	.69

[a] Categories: (1) Belief that English is useful for getting a good job; (2) Belief that knowing English well gains respect; (3) Belief that to be educated one needs to know English; (4) Belief that English is needed for getting by in school; (5) Composite index of instrumental orientation to English.

[b] $P < .05$.

[c] $P < .01$.

relationship between area of school and the belief that being educated necessitates knowing English (Table 22). The normal deviates for the table, however, present a rather unclear picture. They suggest only that pupils from other urban areas express the belief to a lesser extent than either their San Juan or rural peers.

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT ENGLISH FLUENCY IS NECESSARY FOR BECOMING EDUCATED, BY AREA OF SCHOOL

	Response					
Area	Very true 1	2	3	4	Not true 5	Row total
San Juan	15.4 (36)	21.9 (51)	15.9 (37)	4.7 (11)	42.1 (98)	100.0 (233)
Other urban	10.2 (26)	14.6 (37)	27.6 (70)	8.3 (21)	39.4 (100)	100.1 (254)
Rural	17.7 (38)	21.9 (47)	18.6 (40)	5.6 (12)	36.3 (78)	100.1 (215)
Col. tot.	14.2 (100)	19.2 (135)	20.9 (147)	6.3 (44)	39.3 (276)	99.9 (702)
Normal deviates						
San Juan	.49	.93	-1.69	-.94	.67	
Other urban	-1.69	-1.69	2.31	1.27	.01	
Rural	1.33	.88	-.75	-.40	-.71	

$\chi^2 = 21.73$
D.F. = 8

Z = 2.54
$P < .01$

The data indicate, therefore, that attitudes toward the utility of English are well diffused in the population; they are rather undifferentiated by social class, language environment, or sex. The favorability of these attitudes is suggested by the following: over 90 per cent of the pupils indicated that knowing English would be helpful to them in securing a job, nearly as many felt that they needed English for getting by in school, and over half thought that knowing English well earns respect from others. However, one exception is the finding that more students than not disagreed with the assertion that being educated necessitates knowing English.

Encouragement by parents to learn English

While 70 per cent of the pupils indicated they receive more than just a little encouragement, the extent to which parents encourage English study appears to be little affected by factors of residence and social class (Table 23). Parents, furthermore, do not seem to encourage English study by one more than the other sex among their children. On the other hand, the data suggest that, as we might expect, the more the parents speak English in the home, the more likely they are to encourage study of that language (Table 24). There is also an indication that parents who speak English are most likely to encourage school work in general. In addition, encouragement of

English study seems associated with the number of siblings speaking English, but this association appeared less strong than with parental facility.

TABLE 23

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEASURES OF PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Parental encouragement	
	English study	General study
Area of school	.92	.26
Birthplace of child	.00	.07
Birthplace of parents	-.17	1.53
Father's education	-1.46	.94
Parents' education	-.88	1.00
Father's occupation	.30	-.22
Socio-economic position	-.08	-.76
English speaking siblings	1.77[a]	1.41
Amount parents speak English	2.21[a]	1.87[a]
Sex	.59	-.11

[a] $P < .05$.

Thus, our findings indicate that middle class parents do not encourage English distinctly more than lower class parents, urban parents do not provide more encouragement than rural, and parents from all sectors do not favor

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES IN PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO STUDY ENGLISH, BY AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH

English speaking parents[a]	Parental encouragement					Row total
	Much 1	2	3	4	None 5	
1	36.4 (4)	36.4 (4)	18.2 (2)	.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	100.1 (11)
2	63.3 (38)	23.3 (14)	6.7 (4)	1.7 (1)	5.0 (3)	100.0 (60)
3	45.3 (43)	37.9 (36)	12.6 (12)	3.2 (3)	1.0 (1)	100.0 (95)
4	47.7 (31)	26.2 (17)	12.3 (8)	3.1 (2)	10.8 (7)	100.1 (65)
5	37.2 (174)	29.1 (136)	18.6 (87)	4.5 (21)	10.5 (49)	99.9 (467)
Col. tot.	41.5 (290)	29.7 (207)	16.2 (113)	3.9 (27)	8.7 (61)	100.0 (698)
Normal deviates						
1	-.27	.41	.16	-.65	.04	
2	2.62	-.90	-1.83	-.65	.04	
3	.56	1.47	-.86	-.35	-2.53	
4	.77	-.52	-.78	-.32	.55	
5	-1.44	-.21	1.31	.69	1.28	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 8, *supra*, p. 78.

$\chi^2 = 31.03$ $Z = 2.21$

D.F. = 16 $P < .05$

one sex over the other in their encouragement of English study. It is suggested, however, that children coming from English speaking environments are not only somewhat more likely to be encouraged to study English; they are also more likely to receive such encouragement for study of all school subjects.

Extent to which pupil uses English

Almost half the pupils sampled indicated that they used English at least when conversing with certain friends and members of the family as well as in class, while nearly as many affirmed that they seldom used the language outside of class. These data, when refined, reveal little significant association between amount of English employed by the student and residential background, father's occupation, or, in general, his parents' socio-economic position (Table 25). However, Tables 26 and 27 portray a strong association with father's and with mid-parent education.

It is not surprising that we find our strongest association with measures of language environment. Tables 28 and 29 indicate a striking relationship between extent to which parents and siblings use English in the home and the extent to which the child uses the language. Neither sex appears to use English to a significantly greater degree than the other.

TABLE 25

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT ENGLISH IS USED AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Use of English
Area of school	.59
Birthplace of child	-.26
Birthplace of parents	1.04
Father's education	2.48[a]
Parents' education	3.02[a]
Father's occupation	.75
Socio-economic position	.53
English speaking siblings	2.72[a]
Amount parents speak English	5.16[a]
Sex	1.19

[a] $P < .01$.

In general, then, the data suggest that with the exception of parents' education, factors of residence, social class, and sex have little to do with the extent to which the pupil uses English. In contrast, it appears that language environment is a significant factor in determining the child's usage of the second language.

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO AMOUNT ENGLISH IS USED, BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

Grade level	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Above 12	.0 (0)	65.2 (30)	10.9 (5)	21.7 (10)	2.2 (1)	100.0 (46)
10-12	4.6 (5)	50.9 (55)	11.1 (12)	32.4 (35)	.9 (1)	99.9 (108)
7-9	3.6 (5)	38.1 (53)	9.4 (13)	44.6 (62)	4.3 (6)	100.0 (139)
1-6	7.0 (25)	40.0 (143)	7.0 (25)	44.0 (157)	2.0 (7)	100.0 (357)
0	.0 (0)	37.0 (17)	13.0 (6)	43.5 (20)	6.5 (3)	100.0 (46)
Col. tot.	5.0 (35)	42.8 (298)	8.8 (61)	40.8 (284)	2.6 (18)	100.0 (696)
Normal deviates						
Above 12	-1.52	2.32	.48	-2.02	-.17	
10-12	-.18	1.29	.82	-1.37	-1.07	
7-9	-.75	-.84	.23	.70	1.27	
1-6	1.66	-.80	-1.12	.94	-.73	
0	-1.52	-.60	.98	.28	1.66	

[a] Categories: (1) I use English more often than Spanish; (2) I use English when conversing with certain friends and/or members of my family as well as in class; (3) I use English only in class or when speaking with Americans; (4) I use English only in class; (5) I never use English.

$\chi^2 = 33.45$ $Z = 2.48$

D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO AMOUNT ENGLISH IS USED, BY MID-PARENT EDUCATION

Grade level	Response[a] 1	2	3	4	5	Row total
Above 12	.0 (0)	90.9 (10)	9.1 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
10-12	3.2 (4)	54.8 (67)	10.5 (13)	30.0 (36)	1.6 (2)	100.1 (122)
7-9	8.2 (8)	42.8 (42)	10.2 (10)	34.7 (34)	4.1 (4)	100.0 (98)
1-6	5.2 (23)	38.5 (170)	7.5 (33)	46.6 (206)	2.3 (10)	100.0 (442)
0	.0 (0)	36.4 (8)	18.2 (4)	36.4 (8)	9.1 (2)	100.1 (22)
Col. tot.	5.0 (35)	42.7 (297)	8.8 (61)	40.9 (284)	2.6 (18)	100.0 (695)
Normal deviates						
Above 12	-.74	2.44	.04	-2.12	-.53	
10-12	-.86	2.06	.70	-1.96	-.65	
7-9	1.38	.02	.48	-.96	.92	
1-6	.16	-1.37	-.93	1.89	-.43	
0	-1.05	-.46	1.49	-.33	1.89	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 26, *supra*, p. 101.

$\chi^2 = 38.71$

D.F. = 16

Z = 3.02

$P < .01$

TABLE 28

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO AMOUNT ENGLISH IS USED, BY AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH

English speaking parents[b]	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	9.1 (1)	54.5 (6)	18.2 (2)	18.2 (2)	.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
2	8.3 (5)	63.3 (38)	13.3 (8)	15.0 (9)	.0 (0)	99.9 (60)
3	5.3 (5)	67.4 (64)	4.2 (4)	23.2 (22)	.0 (0)	100.1 (95)
4	1.5 (1)	43.1 (28)	7.7 (5)	46.2 (30)	1.5 (1)	100.0 (65)
5	4.9 (23)	35.0 (164)	9.0 (42)	47.4 (222)	3.6 (17)	99.9 (468)
Col. tot.	5.0 (35)	42.9 (300)	8.7 (61)	40.8 (285)	2.6 (18)	100.0 (699)
Normal deviates						
1	.61	.59	1.06	-1.17	-.53	
2	1.15	2.41	1.21	-3.13	-1.24	
3	.11	3.64	-1.49	-2.69	-1.56	
4	-1.25	.02	-.28	.68	-.52	
5	-.09	-2.60	.18	2.26	1.43	

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[a] For identification of categories, see Table 26, _supra_, p. 101.

[b] For identification of categories, see Table 8, _supra_, p. 78.

$\chi^2 = 64.88$ $Z = 5.16$
D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO AMOUNT ENGLISH IS USED, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
More than 3 or all	7.6 (13)	52.6 (90)	9.9 (17)	28.1 (48)	1.8 (3)	100.0 (171)
1-3 but not all	4.0 (10)	42.1 (106)	9.1 (23)	42.8 (108)	2.0 (5)	100.0 (252)
None	4.3 (8)	33.7 (63)	7.0 (13)	51.3 (96)	3.7 (7)	100.0 (187)
Col. tot.	5.2 (31)	42.9 (259)	8.6 (53)	40.7 (252)	2.7 (15)	100.1 (610)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	1.39	1.95	.58	-2.58	-.73	
1-3 but not all	-.85	-.19	.27	.55	-.67	
None	-.54	-1.91	-.78	2.29	.90	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 26, *supra*, p. 101.

$\chi^2 = 23.10$ $\quad$ $Z = 2.72$

D.F. = 8 $\quad$ $P < .01$

Identification with English

Our concern now focuses on how intimately pupils identify with English as indicated by, among other things, how much they like to speak the language and would like to work with others who speak it. As with the other dependent variables, identification with the second language appears to be little affected by place of residence or social class (Table 30). An exception is the measure, "identification with American citizenship," which was found significantly associated with birthplace of child,[1] but this was due primarily to the responses of pupils born in the continental United States rather than to urban-rural differences.

In general, identification with English does not appear to be differentiated by sex. Boys did seem, however, to identify much more positively with American citizenship than girls (Table 31), while girls indicated a somewhat stronger liking for speaking English, although the data indicate that this last relationship is, statistically speaking, of only moderate strength.

The evidence suggests again that language environment is the salient determinant, the correlate of most significance being the number and proportion of siblings who speak English. That item was found to be associated positively with identification with American citizenship (Table 32), degree of preference for working with English-speaking Puerto Ricans (Table 33), preference for marrying someone

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[1] The evidently strong relationship between parents' education and preference for marrying someone who ordinarily speaks English (see Table 30) is not mentioned in the text, since its statistical significance appeared due mainly to cells with an insufficient number of expected observations.

TABLE 30

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDENTIFICATION WITH ENGLISH AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Identification with English[a]						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Area of school	1.85[b]	1.19	1.12	1.12	-.51	-1.22	-.36
Birthplace of child	1.69[b]	2.64[c]	-.12	1.48	.01	-1.64	.09
Birthplace of parents	-.28	.45	1.18	.98	-1.74	-.37	.34
Father's education	.32	.65	1.17	-.27	-.46	.76	.30
Parents' education	.50	-.11	2.30[b]	-.87	.68	1.39	.19
Father's occupation	.94	.35	-.03	1.94[b]	1.34	.66	-.20
Socio-economic position	.31	-.01	.60	1.05	.90	1.01	.02
English speaking siblings	.80	2.09[b]	2.02[b]	4.49[c]	1.12	3.10[c]	3.19[c]
Amount parents speak English	1.68[b]	1.35	1.02	.17	1.13	2.06[b]	1.64
Sex	1.28	4.34[c]	1.23	-.40	1.40	1.86[b]	1.50

[a] Categories: (1) Belief that there should be an English T.V. station; (2) Identification with American citizenship; (3) Preference for working with English-speaking Puerto Ricans; (4) Preference for marrying someone who ordinarily speaks English; (5) Desire to have children speak English; (6) Extent to which pupil likes to speak English; (7) Composite index of identification with English.

[b] $P < .05$.

[c] $P < .01$.

who ordinarily speaks English (Table 34), extent to which pupil likes to speak English (Table 35), and composite responses in identification with English (Table 36). A plausible association was also found between the amount parents speak English and the extent to which the child likes to speak the language.

TABLE 31

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES IN IDENTIFICATION WITH AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, BY SEX

	Response					
Sex	Strong identity 1	2	3	4	No identity 5	Row total
Male	48.7 (152)	27.2 (85)	12.5 (39)	4.2 (13)	7.4 (23)	100.0 (312)
Female	28.9 (111)	33.8 (130)	19.0 (73)	5.2 (20)	13.0 (50)	99.9 (384)
Col. tot.	37.8 (263)	30.9 (215)	16.1 (112)	4.7 (33)	10.5 (73)	100.0 (696)
Normal deviates						
Male	3.14	-1.16	-1.58	-.47	-1.70	
Female	-2.83	1.04	1.43	.42	1.53	

$\chi^2 = 30.48$
D.F. = 4

Z = 4.34
$P < .01$

It would appear, then, that the extent to which the youth identifies with the second language is determined in large part by his language environment, and especially by

TABLE 32

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES IN IDENTIFICATION WITH AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Response					Row total
	Strong identity 1	2	3	4	No identity 5	
More than 3 or all	45.3 (76)	29.3 (50)	16.2 (27)	3.6 (6)	5.4 (9)	99.8 (168)
1-3 but not all	37.5 (94)	32.8 (82)	16.4 (41)	5.6 (14)	7.6 (19)	99.9 (250)
None	31.6 (59)	31.6 (59)	14.4 (27)	5.3 (10)	17.1 (32)	100.0 (187)
Col. tot.	37.9 (229)	31.6 (191)	15.8 (95)	5.0 (30)	9.9 (60)	100.2 (605)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	1.55	-.36	.15	-.70	-1.90	
1-3 but not all	-.07	.45	.23	.61	-1.19	
None	-1.41	-.08	-.59	.37	3.08	

$\chi^2 = 18.36$
D.F. = 8

Z = 2.09
$P < .05$

how many of his brothers and sisters employ English. As viewed from Table 30, it is also suggested that determinants of second-language identification transcend cleavages of social class and residence. Perhaps the most significant findings, however, concern the uniform degree to which the pupils identify with English. Fully three-fourths indicated

TABLE 33

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF DEGREES OF PREFERENCE FOR WORKING WITH ENGLISH SPEAKING PUERTO RICANS, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Response					Row total
	Prefer English speakers 1	2	3	4	Prefer Spanish speakers 5	
More than 3 or all	25.9 (44)	27.0 (46)	22.4 (38)	6.5 (11)	18.2 (31)	100.0 (170)
1-3 but not all	20.3 (51)	25.1 (63)	20.3 (51)	6.4 (16)	27.9 (70)	100.0 (251)
None	19.8 (37)	18.7 (35)	14.4 (27)	7.5 (14)	39.6 (74)	100.0 (187)
Col. tot.	21.7 (132)	23.7 (144)	19.1 (116)	6.7 (41)	28.8 (175)	100.0 (608)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	1.06	.97	.99	-.15	-2.54	
1-3 but not all	-.58	.53	.46	-.24	-.23	
None	-.66	-1.34	-1.45	.38	2.79	

$\chi^2 = 18.04$ $\qquad$ $Z = 2.06$
D.F. = 8 $\qquad$ $P < .05$

they liked to speak English, 60 per cent intimated they would like to marry someone who ordinarily spoke English, and almost 85 per cent felt that they would like their children to speak the language. Most startling of all is that even though those who felt most strongly about the matter favored Spanish speakers, in general more pupils indicated they would rather work with English-speaking than Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans.

TABLE 34

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES IN PREFERENCE FOR MARRIAGE WITH SOMEONE WHO ORDINARILY SPEAKS ENGLISH, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Response					Row total
	Strongly for 1	2	3	4	Strongly against 5	
More than 3 or all	40.6 (69)	32.9 (56)	18.8 (32)	.6 (1)	7.0 (12)	99.9 (170)
1-3 but not all	34.1 (86)	21.8 (55)	25.4 (64)	9.5 (19)	11.1 (28)	99.9 (252)
None	31.6 (59)	22.4 (42)	14.4 (27)	7.0 (13)	24.6 (46)	100.0 (187)
Col. tot.	35.1 (214)	25.1 (153)	20.2 (123)	5.4 (33)	14.1 (86)	99.9 (609)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	1.22	2.12	-.42	-2.68	-2.45	
1-3 but not all	-.25	-.96	1.80	1.51	-1.48	
None	-.81	-.65	-1.77	.95	4.20	

$\chi^2 = 49.11$
D.F. = 8

$Z = 4.49$
$P < .01$

TABLE 35

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF AMOUNT PUPIL LIKES TO SPEAK ENGLISH, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Response					Row total
	Strongly like 1	2	3	4	Strongly dislike 5	
More than 3 or all	42.1 (72)	40.9 (70)	12.9 (22)	2.9 (5)	1.2 (2)	100.0 (171)
1-3 but not all	39.7 (100)	35.3 (89)	20.2 (51)	2.8 (7)	2.0 (5)	100.0 (252)
None	36.4 (68)	32.1 (60)	17.6 (33)	3.2 (6)	10.7 (20)	100.0 (187)
Col. tot.	39.3 (240)	35.9 (219)	17.4 (106)	3.0 (18)	4.2 (27)	99.8 (610)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	.46	1.15	-1.43	-.08	-2.07	
1-3 but not all	-.05	-.11	1.07	-.05	-1.91	
None	-.76	-.97	.07	.31	3.94	

$\chi^2 = 28.44$
D.F. = 8

$Z = 3.10$
$P < .01$

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN IDENTIFICATION WITH ENGLISH, BY ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS

English speaking siblings	Response					Row total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
More than 3 or all	20.2 (34)	64.3 (108)	13.1 (22)	2.4 (4)	.0 (0)	100.0 (168)
1-3 but not all	16.1 (40)	61.0 (152)	19.3 (48)	3.6 (9)	.0 (0)	100.0 (249)
None	10.7 (20)	54.0 (101)	23.5 (44)	10.2 (19)	1.6 (3)	100.0 (187)
Col. tot.	15.6 (94)	59.8 (361)	18.9 (114)	5.3 (32)	.5 (3)	100.1 (604)
Normal deviates						
More than 3 or all	1.48	.83	-1.77	-1.68	-.89	
1-3 but not all	.14	.34	.08	-1.21	-1.09	
None	-1.73	-.95	1.40	2.80	2.24	

$\chi^2 = 31.24$
D.F. = 8

$Z = 3.19$
$P < .01$

English as associated with political power and economic well-being

English does not appear to connote political power or economic well-being to any greater degree for certain social class or residential subpopulations than for others (Table 37). An association was, nevertheless, found with

TABLE 37

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH WITH POLITICAL POWER AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	English associated with power and well-being[a]				
	1	2	3	4	5
Area of school	.83	-1.72	.21	4.00[b]	-.58
Birthplace of child	-.26	-.58	.59	2.49[b]	-.75
Birthplace of parents	1.54	-.31	.08	-1.14	-.64
Father's education	.53	.20	1.44	-.44	-.37
Parents' education	-.77	-1.78	.61	.23	-1.14
Father's occupation	-1.24	-.09	.08	-1.04	.68
Socio-economic position	-1.18	-.12	.09	-.98	.84
English speaking siblings	.54	-1.89	-1.35	-.16	-.57
Amount parents speak English	-.56	.01	2.02[c]	1.79[c]	2.19[c]
Sex	3.62[b]	2.58[b]	2.15[c]	2.07[c]	-.35

[a] Categories: (1) belief in the power of English-speaking countries; (2) belief in the need for knowing English to become wealthy in Puerto Rico; (3) belief in the need for knowing English to become a scientist in Puerto Rico; (4) belief that Puerto Ricans need English to enable the country to become advanced and modernized; (5) composite index of association of English with political power and economic well-being.

[b] $P < .01$.

[c] $P < .05$.

area of school (Table 38) and with birthplace of child (Table 39), but after a close look at the normal deviates one would have to conclude that an unambiguous interpretation of these data would be unwarranted. The data do

TABLE 38

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT ENGLISH CONTRIBUTES TO MODERNIZATION, BY AREA OF SCHOOL

Area	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
San Juan	53.9 (124)	27.4 (63)	5.6 (13)	4.8 (11)	8.3 (19)	100.0 (230)
Other urban	57.1 (145)	26.8 (68)	8.7 (22)	5.9 (15)	1.6 (4)	100.1 (254)
Rural	38.1 (82)	39.1 (84)	8.4 (18)	10.2 (22)	4.2 (9)	100.0 (215)
Col. tot.	50.2 (351)	30.8 (215)	7.6 (53)	6.9 (48)	4.6 (32)	100.1 (699)
Normal deviates						
San Juan	.79	-.92	-1.06	-1.21	2.61	
Other urban	1.55	-1.15	.62	-.58	-2.24	
Rural	-2.50	2.20	.42	1.88	-.27	

[a] Categories: (1) if Puerto Rico is ultimately to become an advanced and modernized country, it would be essential that Puerto Ricans have a command of English; (2) Puerto Ricans would have to know some English; (3) Puerto Ricans may have to learn English; (4) only a handful of Puerto Ricans would need to know English; (5) it would do no good for Puerto Ricans to learn English.

$\chi^2 = 35.18$
D.F. = 8

Z = 4.00
$P < .01$

TABLE 39

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT ENGLISH CONTRIBUTES TO MODERNIZATION, BY BIRTHPLACE OF CHILD

Area	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
United States	57.1 (8)	42.8 (6)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	99.9 (14)
San Juan	54.7 (110)	26.4 (53)	5.0 (10)	5.0 (10)	9.0 (18)	100.1 (201)
Other urban	51.5 (175)	28.5 (97)	9.4 (32)	7.9 (27)	2.6 (9)	99.9 (340)
Rural	39.5 (49)	42.7 (53)	7.2 (9)	8.1 (10)	2.4 (3)	99.9 (124)
Other	50.0 (1)	50.0 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (2)
Col. tot.	50.4 (343)	30.8 (210)	7.5 (51)	6.9 (47)	4.4 (30)	100.0 (681)
Normal deviates						
United States	.36	.81	-1.02	-.98	-.79	
San Juan	.87	-1.14	-1.30	-1.04	3.07	
Other urban	.29	-.77	1.30	.73	-1.54	
Rural	-1.70	2.39	-.09	.49	-1.05	
Other	-.01	.49	-.39	-.37	-.30	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 38, *supra*, p. 114.

$\chi^2 = 33.54$ $Z = 2.49$

D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

suggest, however, that pupils living in rural areas may be the least likely to believe that English can contribute to the modernization of Puerto Rico.

Although a moderate association was found between language environment and a tendency to link English with political power and economic well-being, the strongest relationship was with sex; while the meaning of the figures in Table 40 is questionable, Table 41 suggests that girls

TABLE 40

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF IN POWER OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Male	31.0 (98)	18.7 (59)	43.0 (136)	2.5 (8)	4.7 (15)	99.9 (316)
Female	18.8 (72)	18.3 (70)	59.0 (226)	1.8 (7)	2.1 (8)	100.0 (383)
Col. tot.	24.3 (170)	18.4 (129)	51.8 (362)	2.2 (15)	3.3 (23)	100.0 (699)
Normal deviates						
Male	2.41	.09	-2.16	.47	1.43	
Female	-2.19	-.08	1.96	-.43	-1.30	

[a] Categories: (1) among the great nations of the world, English speaking countries are the most powerful; (2) English speaking countries are somewhat more powerful than others; (3) English speaking countries are about as powerful as the rest; (4) English speaking countries are somewhat less powerful than others; English speaking countries are the least powerful.

$\chi^2 = 23.28$ $Z = 3.62$

D.F. = 4 $P < .01$

TABLE 41

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT ENGLISH CONTRIBUTES TO BECOMING WEALTHY, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Male	13.0 (41)	45.4 (143)	30.2 (95)	10.5 (33)	1.0 (3)	100.1 (315)
Female	21.4 (82)	36.3 (139)	34.7 (133)	7.3 (28)	.3 (1)	100.0 (383)
Col. tot.	17.6 (123)	40.4 (282)	32.7 (228)	8.7 (61)	.6 (4)	100.0 (698)
Normal deviates						
Male	-1.95	1.39	-.78	1.04	.89	
Female	1.77	-1.27	.71	-.95	-.81	

[a] Categories: (1) for a Puerto Rican to become wealthy, a knowledge of English would be essential; (2) a knowledge of English would be useful; (3) a knowledge of English may be useful; (4) a knowledge of English is not necessary; (5) a knowledge of English would be detrimental.

$\chi^2 = 14.98$ $Z = 2.58$
D.F. = 4 $P < .01$

feel somewhat more strongly that English contributes to wealth.

In sum, it would appear that, although neither sex, language environment nor ecology is decisive in a potential association of English with political power and economic well-being, the data are of some significance. Particularly noteworthy is that half the pupils sampled felt that it would be essential that Puerto Ricans have a command of English if the country is to emerge ultimately as an advanced and modernized country.

Emphasis on association of English with "high culture"

The pupils' tendency to associate English with "high culture" displayed little consistent relationship to residence, social class, or language environment (Table 42).

TABLE 42

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH WITH "HIGH CULTURE" AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

	English as associated with "high culture"	
Factors	For being a writer	For familiarity with arts
Area of school	1.00	.24
Birthplace of child	.33	-1.58
Birthplace of parents	.63	1.58
Father's education	1.73[a]	.90
Parents' education	1.85[a]	-.42
Father's occupation	.85	-.10
Socio-economic position	1.80[a]	.25
English speaking siblings	.14	.01
Amount parents speak English	-1.45	.87
Sex	3.96[b]	3.19[b]

[a] $P < .05$. [b] $P < .01$.

While sex appeared to be most strongly tied to measures associating English with "high culture," the results were mixed, with boys indicating a somewhat stronger belief that a person would need English for becoming a great writer in Puerto Rico (Table 43) and girls showing a slightly more positive feeling toward the importance of knowing English for becoming familiar with the arts (Table 44).

TABLE 43

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT ENGLISH CONTRIBUTES TO BECOMING A GREAT WRITER, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a] 1	2	3	4	5	Row total
Male	22.0 (69)	20.1 (63)	32.2 (101)	18.2 (57)	7.6 (24)	100.1 (314)
Female	13.6 (52)	17.3 (66)	39.5 (151)	27.2 (104)	2.4 (9)	100.0 (382)
Col. tot.	17.4 (121)	18.5 (129)	36.2 (252)	23.1 (161)	4.7 (33)	99.9 (696)
Normal deviates						
Male	1.95	.63	-1.19	-1.83	2.36	
Female	-1.77	-.57	1.08	1.66	-2.14	

[a] Categories: (1) one would have to write in English to gain fame as a great writer; (2) one would have to have a command of English; (3) one would need to have some knowledge of English; (4) one may need to have some knowledge of English; (5) one would not have to have any knowledge of English.

$\chi^2 = 26.53$ $Z = 3.96$

D.F. = 4 $P < .01$

TABLE 44

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT ENGLISH CONTRIBUTES TO BECOMING FAMILIAR WITH THE ARTS, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a] 1	2	3	4	5	Row total
Male	37.6 (119)	22.8 (72)	17.4 (55)	13.1 (41)	9.2 (29)	100.1 (316)
Female	30.8 (119)	30.3 (117)	23.6 (91)	11.1 (43)	3.4 (13)	99.2 (386)
Col. tot.	34.0 (238)	27.0 (189)	20.9 (146)	12.0 (84)	6.0 (42)	99.9 (699)
Normal deviates						
Male	1.10	-1.45	-1.35	.49	2.30	
Female	-1.00	1.32	1.23	-.45	-2.09	

[a] Categories: (1) one would need to be fluent in English to become familiar with the arts in Puerto Rico; (2) one would have to have some facility in English; (3) one may need to have some facility in English; (4) English would help but is not necessary; (5) one would not need a knowledge of English.

$\chi^2 = 19.49$ $Z = 3.19$
D.F. = 4 $P < .01$

An unambiguous interpretation concerning an association of the second language with "high culture" would be unwarranted. However, that there was little relationship between language environment and "English as associated with 'high culture'" indicates that attitudes toward English of pupils living in an environment favorable to learning English may be largely "materialistic."

English and culture orientation

While Table 45 suggests little overall connection between an association of English with "Americanization" and residence or social class,[1] it did, at the same time,

TABLE 45

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOW ENGLISH RELATES TO CULTURE ORIENTATION AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	English and culture orientation[a]		
	1	2	3
Area of school	.80	3.31[b]	-.70
Birthplace of child	.57	1.69[c]	.47
Birthplace of parents	.97	.77	-.85
Father's education	.56	1.95[c]	-.08
Parents' education	1.07	2.06[c]	.24
Father's occupation	-1.05	.53	2.47[b]
Socio-economic position	.82	1.63	2.71[b]
English speaking siblings	1.06	.52	-1.17
Amount parents speak English	-.43	1.56	.18
Sex	1.81[c]	2.39[b]	2.66[b]

[a] Categories: (1) belief that English can change cultural identity; (2) direction of cultural emphasis; (3) belief in the effect English may have on Puerto Rico.

[b] $P < .01$. [c] $P < .05$.

---

[1] The contribution of cells with an insufficient number of expected observations accounts for the absence in the text of the strong relationships between father's occupation and SES on the one hand and attitudes toward the role English may play in Americanization on the other.

indicate one interesting relationship with area of school. Rural pupils react most favorably toward Americanization, while urban pupils most strongly emphasize the importance of preserving their Spanish heritage (Table 46). This

TABLE 46

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF ATTITUDES EXPRESSING CULTURE ORIENTATION, BY AREA OF SCHOOL

Area	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
San Juan	19.7 (45)	9.7 (22)	6.1 (14)	30.6 (70)	34.0 (78)	100.1 (229)
Other urban	23.2 (59)	8.7 (22)	6.3 (16)	38.6 (98)	23.2 (59)	100.0 (254)
Rural	36.4 (78)	5.1 (11)	7.5 (16)	29.4 (63)	21.5 (46)	99.9 (214)
Col. tot.	26.1 (182)	7.9 (55)	6.6 (46)	33.1 (231)	26.3 (183)	100.0 (697)
Normal deviates						
San Juan	-1.91	.92	-.29	-.68	2.31	
Other urban	-.90	.44	-.19	1.51	-.94	
Rural	2.96	-1.43	.50	-.94	-1.36	

[a] Categories: (1) it is important that Puerto Rico become more Americanized; (2) it is inevitable that Puerto Rico become more Americanized whether or not it conserves its Spanish heritage; (3) it is not important for Puerto Rico to conserve its Spanish heritage nor to become more Americanized; (4) it is important for Puerto Rico to conserve some of its Spanish heritage while becoming more Americanized; (5) it is important that Puerto Rico preserve its Spanish heritage.

$\chi^2 = 28.35$ $Z = 3.31$

D.F. = 8 $P < .01$

could mean that urban pupils are more culture-conscious, that they have a greater sense of belonging to a culture than rural children. Or, it may indicate that urban children are actually least receptive to change, a possibility which would tend to negate our initial assumption that change-prone persons are most likely to be found in areas of most opportunity, the urban centers. It may, on the other hand, suggest that those who participate in an environment where change is continuous and omnipresent are most likely to feel apprehensive about losing their accustomed way of life; change may induce anxiety and insecurity, feelings assuaged by strong ties of sentiment and emotion to tradition.

Another interesting observation may be made with regard to sex. Tables 47 and 48 suggest that, while boys are more favorably inclined toward Americanization than girls, they feel somewhat less strongly that English will play an important part in making Puerto Rico more "American." It would appear, then, that attitudes toward the role of second-language learning in culture change are not differentiated definitively by sex. Language environment seems also not to have an important influence on such attitudes; coming from a home where English is spoken has little bearing on culture orientation or on feelings about how English may affect culture change.

Finally, about the same number of students emphasized the importance of Puerto Rico's becoming more Americanized as those who stressed the importance of preserving their Spanish heritage. Nearly 80 per cent felt that, if Puerto Rico becomes a state, English will be an important factor in making Island life like that in the United States.

TABLE 47

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF ATTITUDES EXPRESSING CULTURE ORIENTATION, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Male	32.1 (101)	5.4 (17)	6.7 (21)	30.5 (96)	25.4 (80)	100.1 (315)
Female	21.2 (81)	9.9 (38)	6.5 (25)	35.3 (25)	27.1 (103)	100.0 (382)
Col. tot.	26.1 (182)	7.9 (55)	6.6 (46)	33.1 (231)	26.3 (183)	100.0 (697)
Normal deviates						
Male	2.07	-1.58	.05	-.82	-.30	
Female	-1.88	1.43	-.04	.75	.27	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 46, *supra*, p. 122.

$\chi^2 = 13.73$ $Z = 2.39$

D.F. = 4 $P < .01$

TABLE 48

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO HOW ENGLISH MAY AFFECT LIFE IN PUERTO RICO, BY SEX

Sex	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Male	48.7 (154)	26.9 (85)	12.0 (38)	2.8 (9)	9.5 (30)	99.9 (316)
Female	42.6 (163)	39.2 (150)	11.5 (44)	1.0 (4)	5.7 (22)	100.0 (383)
Col. tot.	45.4 (317)	33.6 (345)	11.7 (82)	1.9 (13)	7.4 (52)	100.0 (699)
Normal deviates						
Male	.89	-2.06	.15	1.29	1.34	
Female	-.81	1.87	-.14	-1.17	-1.22	

[a] Categories: (1) if Puerto Rico becomes a state of the U.S. in its way of life as well as by law, English will have been an important factor, if not the most important factor; (2) English will have been one of many important factors; (3) English may be a factor; (4) English will have helped only very little; (5) English will have had nothing to do with it.

$\chi^2 = 15.55$ $Z = 2.66$
D.F. = 4 $P < .01$

Attitudes toward Americans

In general, attitudes toward continental Americans do not appear to be conspicuously negative, nor do they appear to be influenced significantly by urban-rural differences, social class, language environment, or sex (Table 49). Normal deviates in Tables 50 through 53

TABLE 49

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICANS AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Attitudes toward Americans[a]							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Area of school	2.32[b]	-.44	-.63	2.54[c]	1.92[b]	-2.11	.34	1.26
Birthplace of child	.39	.40	.92	2.83[c]	3.03[c]	.49	1.50	2.45[c]
Birthplace of parents	-1.40	-.13	-1.67	-.26	-.73	.45	.79	6.39[c]
Father's education	.50	-.98	2.99[c]	1.48	.21	.14	1.60	1.95[b]
Parents' education	1.80[b]	-2.04	3.41[c]	-.22	1.08	.80	.58	3.33[c]
Father's occupation	1.26	-.27	.14	.77	-.16	.27	1.38	2.39[c]
Socio-economic position	1.00	.68	.97	1.29	.05	1.74[b]	-.53	1.79[b]
English speaking siblings	1.24	1.72[b]	1.62	.02	.77	.30	-.59	2.37[c]
Amount parents speak English	1.26	.31	2.42[c]	1.65[b]	.91	.23	1.03	2.12[b]
Sex	2.19[b]	2.95[c]	1.39	1.26	1.21	1.64	1.57	-1.38

[a] Categories: (1) Belief that Puerto Ricans are more honest than Americans; (2) Belief that family life is more important to Puerto Ricans than Americans; (3) Belief that, compared to Puerto Ricans, Americans are without imagination; (4) Belief that Puerto Ricans appreciate art more than Americans; (5) Belief that Puerto Rican children have better manners than American children; (6) Belief that Americans would benefit greatly if they adopted many aspects of Puerto Rican culture; (7) Belief that the American way of life is crude when compared to that of Puerto Ricans; (8) Composite of attitudes toward Americans.

[b] $P < .05$.

[c] $P < .01$.

TABLE 50

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT FAMILY LIFE IS MORE IMPORTANT TO PUERTO RICANS THAN AMERICANS, BY SEX

Sex	Response: Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Row total
Male	19.2 (60)	33.2 (104)	28.8 (90)	11.8 (37)	7.0 (22)	100.0 (313)
Female	12.0 (46)	38.8 (149)	34.4 (132)	12.5 (48)	2.3 (9)	100.0 (384)
Col. tot.	15.2 (106)	36.3 (253)	31.8 (222)	12.2 (85)	4.4 (31)	99.9 (697)
Normal deviates						
Male	1.80	-.90	-.97	-.19	2.17	
Female	-1.62	.81	.88	.17	-1.95	

$\chi^2 = 17.62$
D.F. = 4

Z = 2.95
$P < .01$

indicate that even the data for the statistically significant relationships are mostly inconclusive.[1] Children born in the continental United States do seem to be less apt to have negative feelings about Americans, but there is little reason to believe that these same children are decidedly more disposed to learning English than their peers.

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[1] Table 49 shows high Z scores for certain relationships with attitudes toward Americans which are not mentioned in the text, because data analysis indicated that their statistical significance was due mainly to the contribution of cells having an insufficient number of expected observations.

TABLE 51

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT PUERTO RICANS ARE MORE SINCERE AND HONEST THAN NORTH AMERICANS, BY AREA OF SCHOOL

Area	Response					Row total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
San Juan	19.4 (45)	19.8 (46)	42.7 (99)	10.8 (25)	7.3 (17)	100.0 (232)
Other urban	8.7 (22)	29.6 (75)	47.0 (119)	11.5 (29)	3.2 (8)	100.0 (253)
Rural	16.0 (34)	26.8 (57)	42.2 (90)	9.4 (20)	5.6 (12)	100.0 (213)
Col. tot.	14.5 (101)	25.5 (178)	44.1 (308)	10.6 (74)	5.3 (37)	100.0 (698)
Normal deviates						
San Juan	1.97	-1.71	-.33	.08	1.34	
Other urban	-2.41	1.30	.70	.42	-1.48	
Rural	.57	.36	-.41	-.54	.21	

$\chi^2 = 20.08$
D.F. = 8

$Z = 2.32$
$P < .05$

TABLE 52

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT PUERTO RICANS APPRECIATE ART MORE THAN NORTH AMERICANS, BY AREA OF SCHOOL

Area	Response					Row total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
San Juan	11.2 (26)	20.2 (47)	43.1 (100)	19.4 (45)	6.0 (14)	99.9 (232)
Other urban	7.1 (18)	27.7 (70)	32.4 (82)	25.7 (65)	7.1 (18)	100.0 (253)
Rural	11.7 (25)	32.4 (69)	33.3 (71)	14.6 (31)	8.0 (17)	100.0 (213)
Col. tot.	9.9 (69)	26.6 (186)	36.2 (253)	20.2 (141)	7.0 (49)	99.9 (698)
Normal deviates						
San Juan	.64	-1.89	1.73	-.27	-.57	
Other urban	-1.40	.31	-1.01	1.94	.06	
Rural	.86	1.62	-.71	-1.83	.53	

$\chi^2 = 21.76$
D.F. = 8

$Z = 2.54$
$P < .01$

TABLE 53

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICANS, BY BIRTHPLACE OF CHILD

Area	Response[a] Negative 1	2	3	4	Positive 5	Row total
United States	.0 (0)	14.3 (2)	57.1 (8)	21.4 (3)	7.1 (1)	99.9 (14)
San Juan	1.5 (3)	31.2 (62)	48.7 (97)	18.1 (36)	.5 (1)	100.0 (199)
Other urban	.6 (2)	26.9 (91)	58.9 (199)	13.3 (45)	.3 (1)	100.0 (338)
Rural	.8 (1)	31.7 (39)	60.2 (74)	7.3 (9)	.0 (0)	100.0 (123)
Other	.0 (0)	100.0 (2)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (2)
Col. tot.	.9 (6)	29.0 (196)	55.9 (378)	13.8 (93)	.4 (3)	100.0 (676)
Normal deviates						
United States	-.35	-1.02	.06	.77	3.76	
San Juan	.93	.57	-1.35	1.65	.12	
Other urban	-.58	-.71	.73	-.22	-.41	
Rural	-.09	.56	.63	-1.93	-.74	
Other	-.13	1.86	-1.06	-.52	-.09	

[a] Collapsing columns 1 and 2 together and 4 and 5 together or eliminating the row "Other" would not eliminate significance at the .05 level.

$\chi^2 = 33.1$ $Z = 2.45$
D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

The direct effect of linguistic environment

In general, it appears that linguistic environment has a strong positive influence on attitudes toward English, while the influence of socio-economic status is negligible. However, Tables 131 through 136 (Appendix F) suggest that linguistic environment is affected by social class, and it may be that the relationship between linguistic environment and attitudes toward English is not direct but determined in part by SES.

To test the effects of social class, several of the most significant relationships pertaining to the variable, "English speaking siblings," were subclassified by SES (collapsed into three categories: high, mid, and low).[1] The results indicate that the relationship between linguistic environment and attitudes toward English holds for high, mid, and low SES (although they do so least strongly for mid SES), thus suggesting that this relationship is direct (Tables 54 through 57). We therefore reject the implication that SES acts as an intervening variable with regard to the manner in which pupils view English.

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[1] Generally, "high" SES represents professionals, semi-professionals, and businessmen with at least a high school education; "mid" SES represents skilled workers and small-scale landowners with at least a seventh grade education; and "low" SES represents unskilled workers and unemployed.

TABLE 54

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND GRADE IN ENGLISH,[a] PERCENTAGES BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES)

English speaking siblings	Grade in English					Total	
	A	B	C	D	E		
High SES							
4+ or all	17.1	24.4	36.6	22.0	.0	100.1	(41)
2 or 3 but not all	17.4	13.0	39.1	30.4	.0	99.9	(23)
None	8.7	13.0	52.2	17.4	8.7	100.0	(23)
Total	14.9 (13)	18.4 (16)	41.4 (36)	23.0 (20)	2.3 (2)	100.0	(87)
Mid SES							
4+ or all	13.9	15.3	37.5	27.8	5.6	100.1	(72)
2 or 3 but not all	10.5	19.0	40.0	27.6	2.8	99.9	(105)
None	5.3	8.0	49.3	33.3	4.0	99.9	(75)
Total	9.9 (25)	14.7 (37)	42.1 (106)	29.4 (74)	4.0 (10)	100.1	(252)
Low SES							
4+ or all	12.7	25.4	38.2	23.6	.0	99.9	(55)
2 or 3 but not all	3.4	10.1	44.5	38.6	3.4	100.0	(119)
None	2.1	12.4	38.1	39.2	8.2	100.0	(97)
Total	4.8 (13)	14.0 (38)	41.0 (111)	35.8 (97)	4.4 (12)	100.0	(271)

[a] For the original relationship, see Table 7, *supra*, p. 77.

TABLE 55

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND INTEREST IN ENGLISH,[a] PERCENTAGES BY SES

English speaking siblings	Response					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5		
High SES							
4+ or all	11.6	74.4	14.0	.0	.0	100.0	(43)
2 or 3 but not all	13.0	52.2	30.4	4.3	.0	99.9	(23)
None	.0	48.3	31.0	20.7	.0	100.0	(29)
Total	8.4 (8)	61.0 (58)	23.2 (22)	7.4 (7)	.0 (0)	100.0	(95)
Mid SES							
4+ or all	11.1	63.9	25.0	.0	.0	100.0	(72)
2 or 3 but not all	2.8	70.5	22.8	1.9	1.9	99.9	(105)
None	10.0	72.0	12.0	4.0	2.0	100.0	(50)
Total	7.0 (16)	68.7 (156)	21.1 (48)	1.8 (4)	1.3 (3)	99.9	(227)
Low SES							
4+ or all	14.5	69.1	14.5	1.8	.0	99.9	(55)
2 or 3 but not all	7.6	76.5	12.6	3.4	.0	100.1	(119)
None	5.6	64.0	19.1	11.2	.0	99.9	(89)
Total	8.4 (22)	70.7 (186)	15.2 (40)	5.7 (15)	.0 (0)	100.0	(263)

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[a] For the original relationship, see Table 14, supra, p. 87.

TABLE 56

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND AMOUNT PUPIL USES ENGLISH,[a] PERCENTAGES BY SES

English speaking siblings	Response					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5		
High SES							
4+ or all	2.3	65.1	11.6	20.9	.0	99.9	(43)
2 or 3 but not all	4.3	60.9	4.3	30.4	.0	99.9	(23)
None	4.3	34.8	4.3	47.8	8.7	99.9	(23)
Total	3.4 (3)	56.2 (50)	7.9 (7)	30.3 (27)	2.2 (2)	100.0	(89)
Mid SES							
4+ or all	8.3	45.8	11.1	33.3	1.4	99.9	(72)
2 or 3 but not all	2.8	41.0	8.6	45.7	1.9	100.0	(105)
None	.0	36.7	8.3	53.3	1.7	100.0	(60)
Total	3.8 (9)	41.4 (98)	9.3 (22)	43.9 (104)	1.7 (4)	100.1	(237)
Low SES							
4+ or all	11.1	50.0	7.4	27.8	3.7	100.0	(54)
2 or 3 but not all	4.6	35.6	10.1	47.3	2.3	99.9	(129)
None	4.8	20.7	4.1	65.5	4.8	99.9	(145)
Total	5.8 (19)	31.4 (103)	7.0 (23)	52.1 (171)	3.6 (12)	99.9	(328)

[a] For the original relationship, see Table 29, supra, p. 104.

TABLE 57

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND COMPOSITE OF RESPONSES IN IDENTIFICATION WITH ENGLISH,[a] PERCENTAGES BY SES

English speaking siblings	Composite index					Total	
	Positive 1	2	3	Negative 4	5		
High SES							
4+ or all	13.9	79.1	4.6	2.3	.0	99.9	(43)
2 or 3 but not all	.0	57.1	38.1	4.8	.0	100.0	(21)
None	4.3	34.8	39.1	17.4	4.3	99.9	(23)
Total	8.0 (7)	62.1 (54)	21.8 (19)	6.9 (6)	1.1 (1)	99.9	(87)
Mid SES							
4+ or all	20.0	60.0	17.1	2.9	.0	100.0	(70)
2 or 3 but not all	18.3	61.5	15.4	4.8	.0	100.0	(104)
None	13.1	68.8	11.5	6.6	.0	100.0	(61)
Total	17.4 (41)	63.0 (148)	14.9 (35)	4.7 (11)	.0 (0)	100.0	(235)
Low SES							
4+ or all	26.4	56.6	15.1	1.9	.0	100.0	(53)
2 or 3 but not all	10.8	75.9	12.3	1.0	.0	100.0	(195)
None	11.1	48.5	27.3	11.1	2.0	100.0	(99)
Total	13.3 (46)	65.1 (226)	17.0 (59)	4.0 (14)	.6 (2)	100.0	(347)

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[a] For the original relationship, see Table 36, supra, p. 112.

CHAPTER IV

MOBILITY ORIENTATION

We have been concerned thus far with the effects on attitudes of factors which are largely beyond the control of the youth. Our data point to a pattern in which sex and language environment are eminent in determining achievement in and attitudes toward the second language, but in which the influence of residence and socio-economic position appears to be highly uncertain. For the most part, therefore, we may conclude, at least tentatively, that attitudes toward second-language learning are distributed fairly uniformly in the ninth grade public school population, but are subject to the language conditions of the home and sex of the student.

It is now important to examine our assumption that the drive for status and the perception of opportunities for improving one's position are important sources for propensities to learning English. If aspirations for higher social position and perception of opportunities for achieving it are associated with class and region, elements now believed to have insignificant bearing on attitudes, should it not also be true that aspirations and perception of opportunities are of little importance in attitude formation related to the second language? Or, conversely, are we incorrect in assuming a close tie between aspiration and class, opportunity perception and area, so that pupils may indeed be found to have high achievement motives irrespective of social position or place of residence? These are questions with which we shall now be concerned.

Before beginning our discussion, it would be well to review briefly the measures used for gauging mobility orientation (see Appendix B, Part 13). The first measure, willingness to sacrifice present pleasure for future gratification, is associated with a necessary ingredient in mobility: the will to move toward a distant goal even at the expense of immediate need or enjoyment. The second measure, the emphasis on having money, is used here because of the usual requisite of adequate financial resources for attainment of high social position. The desire for a job better than one's father's is almost a necessary condition for upward mobility; mobility entails occupational movement, and upward refers to "better." Finally, the feeling of obligation to work hard for self-betterment is a measure of commitment to the ideal of enhancing one's station in life.

Association with residence, socio-economic status, language environment, and sex

Before ascertaining if mobility-minded pupils, those with aspirations for movement upward in the social hierarchy, are most likely to have attitudes conducive to second-language learning, though they may come from disparate residential and socio-economic backgrounds, we must determine if indeed there is an absence of association between our measures of mobility orientation and demographic differentials. Initially, however, we should note that mobility aspirations are generally high among public school pupils; about three-fourths of the students responded that as a result of rapid economic developments in Puerto Rico people should work hard to improve themselves and that they should save at least part of their money for their later education. Approximately 60 per cent find favor with having a lot of money and desire a job at least as good as their father's (see Table 58).

In general, it is apparent from Table 59 that demographic factors have little to do with mobility orientation, although residence, especially the present location of the pupil, does seem to have some bearing; it is the rural pupils who appear to be least mobility-oriented (Table 60).

Mobility orientation, therefore, is diffuse in the population, varying little with demographic features or social class characteristics. Moreover, language

TABLE 58

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF RESPONSES TO MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Measure	Response[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Willingness to sacrifice for future	39.7 (364)	34.3 (316)	13.4 (105)	11.3 (99)	1.3 (12)	100.0 (700)
Emphasis on having much money	28.6 (233)	32.4 (334)	24.7 (210)	8.1 (61)	6.1 (57)	99.9 (700)
Job better than father's	35.5 (303)	26.7 (221)	18.6 (151)	10.4 (82)	8.8 (81)	100.0 (662)
Work for self-betterment	27.6 (276)	50.4 (435)	14.7 (127)	4.4 (34)	2.9 (22)	100.0 (699)

[a] The order of responses shown here for the measures listed are not the same as may be found in the questionnaire (see Appendix B, Part 13). The numbered order of responses given above corresponds with the lettered alternatives in the schedule for each of the measures as follows:

1. Sacrifice for future (1=a, 2=e, 3=b, 4=d, 5=c)
2. Emphasis on money (1=b, 2=c, 3=d, 4=e, 5=a)
3. Job aspiration (1=d, 2=b, 3=e, 4=c, 5=a)
4. Self-betterment (1=e, 2=b, 3=a, 4=c, 5=d)

environment appears to play at most a minor role in mobility orientation.[1] We shall now proceed to examine in what ways mobility orientation is related to attitudes toward English.

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[1] While the Z scores for sex were high, the patterns of normal deviates revealed no consistent relationship between mobility orientation and sex.

TABLE 59

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOBILITY ORIENTATION AND FACTORS OF RESIDENCE, SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION, LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX (Z scores)

Factors	Measures of mobility orientation[a]				
	1	2	3	4	5
Area of school	.42	2.56[b]	1.15	2.75[b]	-.40
Birthplace of child	.32	2.54[b]	-.13	.64	-.21
Birthplace of parents	-.66	1.62	-.61	2.41[b]	.10
Education of father	.40	.78	-.88	.05	.52
Education of parents	-.08	.81	-1.39	.46	-.21
Occupation of father	-.62	-1.81	.70	.77	.03
Index of SES	-.67	-.42	-.10	1.43	-.74
English speaking siblings	.12	.17	.70	.28	1.35
Amount parents speak English	-.14	-.91	.22	.18	1.42
Sex	2.47[b]	3.21[b]	.15	1.83[c]	2.54[b]

[a] Categories: (1) Willingness to sacrifice for future; (2) Emphasis on having much money; (3) Desire for job better than father's; (4) Belief in work for self-betterment; (5) Composite of mobility orientation.

[b] $P < .01$.

[c] $P < .05$.

TABLE 60

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF IN HARD WORK FOR SELF-BETTERMENT, BY AREA OF SCHOOL

Area	Response[a] 1	2	3	4	5	Row total
San Juan	27.8 (64)	53.5 (123)	11.7 (27)	3.9 (9)	3.0 (7)	99.9 (230)
Other urban	30.3 (77)	53.5 (136)	10.6 (27)	2.8 (7)	2.8 (7)	100.0 (254)
Rural	24.2 (52)	43.3 (93)	22.8 (49)	7.0 (15)	2.8 (6)	100.1 (215)
Col. tot.	27.6 (193)	50.4 (352)	14.7 (103)	4.4 (31)	2.9 (20)	100.0 (699)
Normal deviates						
San Juan	.06	.67	-1.18	-.38	.16	
Other urban	.82	.72	-1.70	-1.27	-.10	
Rural	-.96	-1.47	3.08	1.77	-.06	

[a] Categories: (1) Due to the rapid economic development of Puerto Rico, there is no excuse for a person not to try to better himself; (2) We ought to take advantage of the new opportunities for bettering ourselves; (3) Most people will be better off without trying hard; (4) People do not have to worry about losing what they have; (5) The rich will get richer and the poor will get poorer.

$\chi^2 = 23.40$ $Z = 2.75$

D.F. = 8 $P < .01$

English achievement

In the previous chapter we noted that ecological factors appeared to have some influence on English achievement. With respect to measures of mobility orientation, we also find a moderate association with achievement (Table 61).

TABLE 61

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH ACHIEVEMENT AND MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	English achievement
Sacrifice for future	2.69[a]
Emphasis on money	.46
Job better than father's	1.05
Work for self-betterment	1.98[b]
Composite of mobility orientation	1.53

[a] $P < .01$. [b] $P < .05$.

The measure which seems most strongly to have a bearing on achievement is willingness to sacrifice for the future ($Z = 2.69$). As one can see by the normal deviates in Table 62, the more the pupil is willing to sacrifice for the future, the more likely his grades are to be high. Thus, it would appear that willingness to sacrifice is a major element in English achievement, just as sex, linguistic environment, and, to a lesser degree, ecological factors were found to be.

Motivational intensity

Measures of mobility orientation do not appear to be strongly or consistently associated with motivational intensity in learning English (see Table 63). They are

TABLE 62

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF ENGLISH GRADES, BY WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR FUTURE

Sacrifice for future[a]	Grade					Row total
	A	B	C	D	E	
1	8.0 (22)	15.6 (43)	40.6 (112)	32.6 (90)	3.3 (9)	100.1 (276)
2	10.5 (25)	19.8 (47)	39.2 (93)	27.4 (65)	3.0 (7)	99.9 (237)
3	6.4 (6)	9.7 (9)	33.3 (31)	39.8 (37)	10.8 (10)	100.0 (93)
4	2.5 (2)	7.6 (6)	49.4 (39)	32.9 (26)	7.6 (6)	100.0 (79)
5	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	44.4 (4)	55.6 (5)	.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Col. tot.	7.9 (55)	15.1 (105)	40.2 (279)	32.1 (223)	4.6 (32)	99.9 (694)
Normal deviates						
1	.03	.19	.10	.14	-1.04	
2	1.43	1.86	-.23	-1.28	-1.19	
3	-.50	-1.35	-1.04	1.30	2.76	
4	-1.70	-1.72	1.28	.12	1.24	
5	-.84	-1.17	.20	1.24	-.64	

[a] Categories: (1) If I suddenly received an amount of money, I would save all or almost all of it for my future education; (2) I would save part of the money for my future education and spend the rest immediately; (3) I would buy the things I need with the money (such as clothes, tools, etc.); (4) I would save the money for an emergency; (5) I would use the money for enjoyment (such as traveling, dancing, etc.).

$\chi^2 = 35.38$ $Z = 2.69$
D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

TABLE 63

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTIVATIONAL INTENSITY AND MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	Motivational intensity[a]						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sacrifice for future	-.66	2.02[b]	.48	1.52	3.05[c]	3.28[c]	1.06
Emphasis on money	-.25	-1.86	1.34	.69	1.46	-.15	.55
Job better than father's	2.22[b]	.27	1.53	.17	.36	1.92[b]	-1.45
Work for self-betterment	2.13[b]	-.20	.13	2.28[b]	1.05	1.53	.63
Composite of mobility orientation	1.57	.01	1.39	1.12	.93	.68	1.83[b]

[a] Categories: (1) amount pupil studies English relative to others; (2) amount pupil thinks about ideas learned in English class; (3) where pupil would go to learn English if not taught in his school; (4) amount pupil studies English per week; (5) amount of effort put into learning English; (6) extent to which pupil plans to use English after finishing school; (7) composite of motivational intensity.

[b] $P < .05$. [c] $P < .01$.

no more so than those reported in the last chapter for demographic factors.[1]

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[1] The significance of the relationships with high Z scores was due primarily to the contribution of cells having an insufficient number of expected observations, and tables for these relationships are therefore not included in the text.

Desire to learn English

While we found neither demographic factors nor mobility orientation to be clearly influential with regard to motivational intensity, this does not appear to be the case with regard to the desire to learn English. To be sure, there is little evidence to show an association between desire for English and elements of social class or residence. But evidence points to a relationship of some significance between desire for English and mobility orientation, one which appears to be particularly consistent with the measure, "willingness to sacrifice for the future" (see Table 64).

The largely positive direction which willingness to sacrifice takes in relation to measures of the desire to learn English is shown in Tables 65 and 66.[1] The first table indicates that those who are least willing to sacrifice for the future are least desirous of having increased the amount of English taught in the school. The second suggests that those least willing to sacrifice are least likely, in general, to have an overall desire to learn English. Although we found an occasional strong relationship with other measures of mobility orientation, such as

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[1] Although the relationships for Categories 2 and 3 of Table 64 tend to be positive, the extremely high Z scores are due mainly to cells with an insufficient number of expected observations.

TABLE 64

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH AND MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	Desire to learn English[a]							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sacrifice for future	1.25	4.34[b]	6.86[b]	1.14	2.90[b]	1.79[c]	2.17[c]	2.15[c]
Emphasis on money	.67	2.74[b]	-.61	-.21	.22	1.61	1.96[c]	.37
Job better than father's	-1.39	.20	.40	.48	-.69	1.89[c]	1.21	-.87
Work for self-betterment	1.01	.55	1.25	-.24	-1.13	.56	.55	1.47
Composite of mobility orientation	-1.05	1.22	2.64[b]	.09	2.90[b]	3.19[b]	-.89	-.63

[a] Categories: (1) preference for English compared to other subjects; (2) attentiveness in English class; (3) amount pupil would read materials in English; (4) extent to which pupil becomes absorbed in English studies; (5) way in which pupil would change amount of English taught; (6) to whom pupil feels English should be taught; (7) how interesting pupil finds English study; (8) composite of desire to learn English.

[b] $P < .01$.

[c] $P < .05$.

TABLE 65

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF WAY IN WHICH PUPIL WOULD CHANGE AMOUNT OF ENGLISH TAUGHT, BY WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR FUTURE

Sacrifice for future[b]	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	24.4 (67)	39.6 (109)	27.3 (75)	5.1 (14)	3.6 (10)	100.0 (275)
2	21.2 (51)	41.2 (99)	33.8 (81)	1.2 (3)	2.5 (6)	99.9 (240)
3	23.6 (22)	29.0 (27)	32.2 (30)	10.8 (10)	4.3 (4)	99.9 (93)
4	15.4 (12)	25.6 (20)	48.7 (38)	6.4 (5)	3.8 (3)	99.9 (78)
5	.0 (0)	33.3 (3)	55.6 (5)	.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	100.0 (9)
Col. tot.	21.9 (152)	37.1 (258)	33.0 (229)	4.6 (32)	3.4 (24)	100.0 (695)
Normal deviates						
1	.88	.68	-1.64	.38	.16	
2	-.21	1.05	.22	-2.42	-.79	
3	.37	-1.28	-.12	2.76	.44	
4	-1.22	-1.66	2.43	.74	.19	
5	-1.40	-.19	1.18	-.64	1.24	

[a] Categories: (1) I would make English the language of instruction for most subjects; (2) I would increase the amount of English required of each student; (3) I would maintain the present amount of English; (4) I would decrease the amount of English required of each pupil; (5) I would eliminate English from the curriculum.

[b] For identification of categories, see Table 62, supra, p. 143.

$\chi^2 = 37.50$ $Z = 2.90$
D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

TABLE 66

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE OF RESPONSES IN DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH, BY WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR FUTURE

Sacrifice for future[a]	Composite responses					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	6.3 (17)	71.8 (194)	18.1 (49)	3.7 (9)	.4 (1)	99.9 (270)
2	8.0 (19)	65.7 (155)	23.7 (56)	2.5 (6)	.0 (0)	99.9 (236)
3	3.3 (3)	62.6 (57)	30.8 (28)	3.3 (3)	.0 (0)	100.0 (91)
4	3.9 (3)	63.2 (48)	28.9 (22)	3.9 (3)	.0 (0)	99.9 (76)
5	.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	77.8 (7)	11.1 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Col. tot.	6.2 (42)	66.7 (455)	23.8 (162)	3.2 (22)	.2 (1)	100.1 (682)
Normal deviates						
1	.09	1.03	-1.89	.10	.96	
2	1.17	-.20	-.01	-.58	-.59	
3	-1.10	-.48	1.37	.04	-.37	
4	-.78	-.38	.93	.35	-.33	
5	-.74	-2.04	3.33	1.32	-.11	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 62, supra, p. 143.

$\chi^2 = 30.51$ $Z = 2.15$
D.F. = 16 $P < .05$

those with "belief in the importance of money" and the "desire to have a job better than one's father," there appears to be little doubt that desire to learn English is most strongly and positively related to willingness to sacrifice for the future. Viewing the matter from another direction, we should also note that the measures, "amount pupil would read materials in English" and "way in which pupil would change amount of English taught," are those which appear most strongly associated with an overall mobility orientation (see Tables 67 and 68).[1]

We may thus conclude that of the measures of mobility orientation, willingness to sacrifice for the future appears to be most consistently related to the desire to learn English. Mobility orientation does not appear to co-vary with social class and residence with regard to the desire to learn English. While attitudes associated with a desire for English are broadly based in the population with regard to elements of socio-economic position and urban-rural distinctions, they appear closely tied to individual propensity to sacrifice present pleasures for future gratification.

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[1] The high Z score for the relationship with "to whom pupil feels English should be taught" appeared due primarily to cells having an insufficient number of expected observations.

TABLE 67

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF EXTENT TO WHICH PUPIL WOULD READ ENGLISH MATERIALS, BY COMPOSITE OF RESPONSES IN MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	.0 (0)	75.0 (30)	20.0 (8)	5.0 (2)	.0 (0)	100.0 (40)
2	3.1 (15)	52.6 (254)	41.0 (198)	2.9 (14)	.4 (2)	100.0 (483)
3	.9 (1)	46.6 (54)	42.2 (49)	6.9 (8)	3.4 (4)	100.0 (116)
4	.0 (0)	42.8 (9)	47.6 (10)	9.5 (2)	.0 (0)	99.9 (21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	2.4 (16)	52.6 (347)	40.2 (265)	3.9 (26)	.9 (6)	100.0 (660)
Normal deviates						
1	-.98	1.96	-2.01	.34	-.60	
2	.96	.00	.29	-1.15	-1.14	
3	-1.08	-.89	.36	1.60	2.87	
4	-.71	-.61	.54	1.29	-.44	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

[a] Categories: (1) Given the opportunity and knowledge of English, I would read materials in English more often than those in Spanish; (2) I would often read materials in English; (3) I would read materials in English occasionally; (4) I would almost never read materials in English; (5) I would never read materials in English.

$\chi^2 = 28.89$ $\quad$ $Z = 2.64$

D.F. = 12 $\quad$ $P < .01$

TABLE 68

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO WAY IN WHICH PUPIL WOULD CHANGE AMOUNT OF ENGLISH TAUGHT IN SCHOOL, BY COMPOSITE OF RESPONSES IN MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	32.5 (13)	37.5 (15)	22.5 (9)	5.0 (2)	2.5 (1)	100.0 (40)
2	21.0 (101)	39.2 (189)	33.6 (162)	3.9 (19)	2.3 (11)	100.0 (482)
3	23.5 (27)	29.6 (34)	34.8 (40)	3.5 (4)	8.7 (10)	100.1 (115)
4	10.0 (2)	40.0 (8)	30.0 (6)	20.0 (4)	.0 (0)	100.0 (20)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	21.8 (143)	37.4 (246)	33.0 (217)	4.4 (29)	3.4 (22)	100.0 (657)
Normal deviates						
1	1.46	.01	-1.16	.18	-.29	
2	-.38	.63	.22	-.49	-1.28	
3	.39	-1.38	.33	-.48	3.13	
4	-1.13	.19	-.24	3.32	-.82	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

[a] Categories: (1) If I had the opportunity to change the way English is taught in this school, I would make English the language of instruction for most subjects; (2) I would increase the amount of English required of each student; (3) I would maintain the amount of English as it is at present; (4) I would decrease the amount of English; (5) I would not have English taught at all.

$\chi^2 = 31.31$ $Z = 2.90$

D.F. = 12 $P < .01$

Instrumental orientation to English

Our concern now is with the question of how an orientation to mobility can affect attitudes directed at accomplishing specific ends--i.e., those having an instrumental orientation. Table 69 suggests that whatever association there is between mobility orientation and an instrumental orientation to English is not more than moderate. The data certainly do not suggest that mobility

TABLE 69

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INSTRUMENTAL ORIENTATION TO ENGLISH AND MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	Instrumental orientation[a]				
	1	2	3	4	5
Sacrifice for future	.36	-2.24	-.28	-.69	-1.82
Emphasis on money	.57	.42	1.12	-.16	.41
Job better than father's	1.47	-.05	-.02	2.65[b]	.76
Work for self-betterment	2.05[c]	-.44	.37	-.39	.02
Composite of mobility orientation	.32	1.01	2.58[b]	-1.14	1.13

[a] Categories: (1) belief that English is helpful for getting a good job; (2) belief that knowing English gains respect; (3) belief that being educated requires knowing good English; (4) belief that English is needed for getting by in school; (5) composite of responses in instrumental orientation to English.

[b] $P < .01$.

[c] $P < .05$.

orientation has any greater effect on an instrumental orientation than do factors of social class and residence. Moreover, as exemplified by Table 70, those relationships

TABLE 70

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES BY DESIRE FOR JOB BETTER THAN FATHER'S OF RESPONSES TO THE USEFULNESS OF ENGLISH FOR GETTING BY IN SCHOOL

Job aspiration[a]	Response Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Row total
1	57.3 (134)	32.9 (77)	5.6 (13)	2.1 (5)	2.1 (5)	100.0 (234)
2	53.7 (95)	26.6 (47)	14.7 (26)	1.7 (3)	3.4 (6)	100.1 (177)
3	52.8 (65)	30.1 (37)	8.9 (11)	5.7 (7)	2.4 (3)	99.9 (123)
4	59.4 (41)	29.0 (20)	5.8 (4)	4.3 (3)	1.4 (1)	99.9 (69)
5	48.3 (28)	32.8 (19)	1.7 (1)	6.9 (4)	10.3 (6)	100.0 (58)
Col. tot.	54.9 (363)	30.3 (200)	8.3 (55)	3.3 (22)	3.2 (21)	100.0 (651)
Normal deviates						
1	.48	.74	-1.47	-1.00	-.89	
2	-.22	-.90	2.94	-1.19	.16	
3	-.31	-.04	.24	1.44	-.46	
4	.50	-.19	-.73	.46	-.81	
5	-.68	.35	-1.74	1.49	3.06	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 58, *supra*, p. 139.

$\chi^2 = 34.98$
D.F. = 16

$Z = 2.65$
$P < .01$

with high Z scores appeared to be somewhat erratic and in a direction which is barely discernible.

Encouragement by parents to learn English

Broadly speaking, Table 71 suggests no stronger association with parental encouragement for measures of mobility orientation than that found for demographic factors. However, one measure does stand out--the belief in working hard for self-improvement. It is interesting that, although the association with this measure pertains to both encouragement of English study and study in general, the former is substantially stronger than the latter.

TABLE 71

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF ENGLISH STUDY (AND STUDY IN GENERAL) AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	Parental encouragement	
	English study	General study
Sacrifice for future	.88	.05
Emphasis on money	.69	-.47
Job better than father's	-.50	1.56
Work for self-betterment	2.42[a]	1.66[b]
Index of mobility orientation	.35	-1.02

[a] $P < .01$ [b] $P < .05$

However, even with regard to parental encouragement to study English, the direction of the relationship, though generally positive, is not definitive (see Table 72).

TABLE 72

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF AMOUNT PARENTS ENCOURAGE ENGLISH STUDY, BY BELIEF IN WORKING FOR SELF-BETTERMENT

Self-betterment[a]	Parents encourage English					Row total
	Very much 1	2	3	Very little 4	5	
1	44.6 (86)	26.4 (52)	19.2 (37)	2.0 (4)	7.2 (14)	100.0 (193)
2	40.5 (142)	32.8 (115)	11.7 (41)	5.1 (18)	10.0 (35)	100.1 (351)
3	44.7 (46)	26.2 (27)	22.3 (23)	3.9 (4)	2.9 (3)	100.0 (103)
4	30.0 (9)	30.0 (9)	26.7 (8)	3.3 (1)	10.0 (3)	100.0 (30)
5	25.0 (5)	20.0 (4)	30.0 (6)	.0 (0)	25.0 (5)	100.0 (20)
Col. tot.	41.3 (288)	29.7 (207)	16.5 (115)	3.9 (27)	8.6 (60)	100.0 (697)
Normal deviates						
1	.70	-.70	.91	-1.27	-.64	
2	-.25	1.05	-2.22	1.19	.87	
3	.53	-.65	1.46	.01	-1.97	
4	-.96	.03	1.37	-.15	.26	
5	-1.14	-.80	1.49	-.88	2.50	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 58, *supra*, p. 139.

$\chi^2 = 32.90$ $Z = 2.42$
D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

Extent to which pupil uses English

As can be seen from Table 73, the measure, "sacrifice for future," tends to be most strongly associated with the extent to which pupils use English. But the relationship was due mainly to cells having too few expected observations to be reliable. We therefore have no firm basis for concluding that elements of mobility orientation are more likely to influence the amount of English employed by the pupil than factors of social class and residence.

TABLE 73

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT OF ENGLISH USED AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	Use of English
Sacrifice for future	2.43[a]
Emphasis on money	.34
Job better than father's	.44
Work for self-betterment	.84
Composite index of mobility orientation	.57

[a] $P < .01$.

Identification with English

It would appear from Table 74 that some association exists between mobility orientation and various indicators of identification with English as well as with the composite index of English identification (see Table 75). However, we find the most strongly associated relationships with the indicators of identification with English practically uninterpretable. They appear to have, for the most part, little meaningful direction (see, for example, Table 76). We have insufficient reason, therefore, for concluding that mobility orientation has a substantially greater influence on identification with English than factors of socio-economic position and residence.

TABLE 74

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEASURES OF ENGLISH IDENTIFICATION AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	English identification[a]						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sacrifice for future	.24	.35	1.97[b]	1.80	.21	1.09	1.49
Emphasis on money	-.52	.16	3.26[c]	.21	1.15	.28	1.31
Job better than father's	-.73	1.03	-.21	1.51	.88	-1.69	.27
Work for self-betterment	1.82[b]	2.38[c]	-.02	2.91[c]	.66	-.20	1.92[b]
Composite index of mobility orientation	-.08	1.01	.72	1.47	1.24	1.38	2.67[c]

[a] Categories: (1) belief that there should be an English T.V. station; (2) identification with American citizenship; (3) preference for working with English speaking Puerto Ricans; (4) preference for marrying someone who ordinarily speaks English; (5) desire to have children grow up speaking English; (6) extent to which pupil enjoys speaking English; (7) composite index of English identification.

[b] $P < .05$.

[c] $P < .01$.

TABLE 75

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE INDEX OF IDENTIFICATION WITH ENGLISH, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Composite index of English identification					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	25.6 (10)	53.8 (21)	20.5 (8)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	99.9 (39)
2	14.8 (71)	60.8 (291)	19.4 (93)	5.0 (24)	.0 (0)	100.0 (479)
3	8.6 (10)	54.3 (63)	23.3 (27)	12.1 (14)	1.7 (2)	100.0 (116)
4	21.0 (4)	57.9 (11)	21.0 (4)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	99.9 (19)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	14.6 (95)	59.1 (386)	20.2 (132)	5.8 (38)	.3 (2)	100.0 (653)
Normal deviates						
1	1.82	-.43	.04	-1.51	-.35	
2	.16	.47	-.39	-.73	-1.21	
3	-1.67	-.67	.73	2.79	2.76	
4	.74	-.07	.08	-1.05	-.24	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

χ^2 = 29.19
D.F. = 12

Z = 2.67
$P < .01$

TABLE 76

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF PREFERENCE RESPONSES TO WORKING WITH ENGLISH SPEAKING PUERTO RICANS, BY EMPHASIS ON MONEY

	With whom prefer to work					
Emphasis on money[a]	English speaking 1	2	3	4	Spanish speaking 5	Row total
1	23.5 (47)	20.0 (40)	15.5 (31)	8.0 (16)	33.0 (66)	100.0 (200)
2	20.3 (46)	21.6 (49)	25.6 (58)	4.8 (11)	27.8 (63)	100.1 (227)
3	17.4 (30)	32.0 (55)	18.6 (32)	5.2 (9)	26.7 (46)	99.9 (172)
4	16.1 (9)	25.0 (14)	14.3 (8)	10.7 (6)	33.9 (19)	100.0 (56)
5	44.2 (19)	7.0 (3)	7.0 (3)	9.3 (4)	32.6 (14)	100.1 (43)
Col. tot.	21.6 (151)	23.1 (161)	18.9 (132)	6.6 (46)	29.8 (208)	100.0 (698)
Normal deviates						
1	.57	-.90	-1.11	.78	.83	
2	-.44	-.46	2.30	-1.02	-.56	
3	-1.18	2.43	-.09	-.69	-.73	
4	-.89	.30	-.08	1.20	.57	
5	3.18	-2.20	-1.80	.69	.33	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 58, *supra*, p. 139.

$\chi^2 = 41.13$ $Z = 3.26$

D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

English as associated with political power and economic well-being

With respect to the association of English with political power and economic well-being, we find some of the most striking differences between mobility orientation and demographic factors. Table 77 indicates a fairly consistent relationship with mobility orientation, one which we did not observe with social class or residence (see Table 37 on page 113). The data, in other words, suggest

TABLE 77

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEASURES IN THE ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH WITH POWER AND WELL-BEING AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	English with power and well-being[a]				
	1	2	3	4	5
Sacrifice for future	4.09[b]	3.13[b]	.64	2.92[b]	2.26[c]
Emphasis on money	3.16[b]	2.19[c]	.90	1.63	1.45
Job better than father's	2.51[b]	.52	.78	1.62	-.17
Work for self-betterment	4.79[b]	.26	3.19[b]	5.85[b]	1.93[c]
Composite index of mobility orientation	5.60[b]	-.36	-.93	2.34[b]	1.35

[a] Categories: (1) belief in power of English speaking countries; (2) belief in the need for knowing English to become wealthy; (3) belief in the need for knowing English to become a scientist; (4) belief that Puerto Ricans should know English if the Island is to become advanced and modernized; (5) composite index of association of English with power and well-being.

[b] $P < .01$.

[c] $P < .05$.

that, in general, mobility orientation, irrespective of social class or place of residence, has an impact on the way English is perceived as being associated with political power and economic well-being.

With regard to measures of the association of English with power and well-being, it is evident from Table 77 that belief in the power of English speaking countries and the belief that Puerto Ricans should know English if the Island is to advance and become modernized are those most closely related to mobility factors. Of the measures of mobility orientation, willingness to sacrifice for the future and the belief in hard work for self-improvement are the ones which seem to have most bearing on the association of English with political power and economic well-being. That the effect is positive, though in places erratic, is indicated by Tables 78 through 82 which are representative of the most significant relationships.

As with the desire to learn English, we observe an overall lack of covariance between demographic factors and mobility orientation. Here again the findings tend to discredit the assumption that what would be found to hold for social class and residence should hold true for mobility orientation. Or, to be more precise, the evidence in this section suggests that, where class and location have little effect on attitudes, an orientation to mobility may be a determining factor.

TABLE 78

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES IN THE BELIEF OF THE POWER OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES, BY WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR FUTURE

Sacrifice for future[b]	Power of English speaking countries[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	31.3 (86)	19.3 (53)	45.1 (124)	2.5 (7)	1.8 (5)	100.0 (275)
2	19.5 (47)	18.2 (44)	58.5 (141)	2.1 (5)	1.6 (4)	99.9 (241)
3	21.3 (20)	19.1 (18)	54.2 (51)	1.1 (1)	4.2 (4)	99.9 (94)
4	19.0 (15)	16.4 (13)	54.4 (43)	2.5 (2)	7.6 (6)	99.9 (79)
5	11.1 (1)	11.1 (1)	44.4 (4)	.0 (0)	33.3 (3)	99.9 (9)
Col. tot.	24.2 (169)	18.5 (129)	52.0 (363)	2.2 (15)	3.2 (22)	100.1 (698)
Normal deviates						
1	2.38	.30	-1.59	.45	-1.25	
2	-1.49	-.08	1.40	-.08	-1.30	
3	-.58	.15	.30	-.72	.60	
4	-.94	-.42	.30	.23	2.22	
5	-.80	-.51	-.31	-.44	5.10	

[a] Categories: (1) Among the great nations of the world, English speaking countries are the most powerful; (2) English speaking countries are somewhat more powerful; (3) English speaking countries are about as powerful as the rest; (4) English speaking countries are somewhat less powerful; (5) English speaking countries are the least powerful.

[b] For identification of categories, see Table 62, supra, p. 143.

$\chi^2 = 50.61$ D.F. = 16 Z = 4.09 $P < .01$

TABLE 79

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES IN THE BELIEF OF THE POWER OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Power of English speaking countries[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	48.7 (19)	7.7 (3)	43.6 (17)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (39)
2	21.9 (106)	19.2 (93)	54.8 (265)	2.7 (13)	1.4 (7)	100.0 (484)
3	19.0 (22)	17.2 (20)	53.4 (62)	.9 (1)	9.5 (11)	100.0 (116)
4	47.6 (10)	14.3 (3)	19.0 (4)	.0 (0)	19.0 (4)	99.9 (21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	23.8 (157)	18.0 (119)	52.7 (348)	2.1 (14)	3.3 (22)	99.9 (660)
Normal deviates						
1	3.19	-1.52	-.79	-.19	-1.14	
2	-.85	.61	.61	.85	-2.27	
3	-1.06	-.20	.11	-.93	3.63	
4	2.24	-.40	-2.13	-.67	3.94	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

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[a] For identification of categories, see Table 78, supra, p. 162.

$\chi^2 = 63.53$ $\quad$ $Z = 5.60$

D.F. = 12 $\quad$ $P < .01$

TABLE 80

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF IN THE NEED TO KNOW ENGLISH FOR PUERTO RICO TO ADVANCE AND BECOME MODERNIZED, BY BELIEF IN HARD WORK FOR SELF-BETTERMENT

Self-betterment[b]	English for modernization[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	62.7 (121)	24.9 (48)	6.2 (12)	4.7 (9)	1.6 (3)	100.1 (193)
2	48.9 (172)	34.1 (120)	7.1 (25)	6.2 (22)	3.7 (13)	100.0 (352)
3	41.3 (43)	31.7 (33)	6.7 (7)	9.6 (10)	10.6 (11)	99.9 (104)
4	38.7 (12)	31.7 (12)	9.7 (3)	12.9 (4)	.0 (0)	100.0 (31)
5	15.8 (3)	10.5 (2)	31.6 (6)	15.8 (3)	26.3 (5)	100.0 (19)
Col. tot.	50.2 (351)	30.8 (215)	7.6 (53)	6.9 (48)	4.6 (32)	100.1 (699)
Normal deviates						
1	2.45	-1.47	-.69	-1.17	-1.96	
2	-.36	1.13	-.33	-.44	-.78	
3	-1.28	.18	-.32	1.07	2.86	
4	-.90	.80	.42	1.28	-1.19	
5	-2.12	-1.59	3.80	1.48	4.43	

[a] Categories: (1) If Puerto Rico is to emerge as an ultimately advanced and modernized country, it would be essential that Puerto Ricans have a command of English; (2) Puerto Ricans would have to know some English; (3) Puerto Ricans may have to learn English; (4) Only a handful of Puerto Ricans would need to know English; (5) It would do no good for Puerto Ricans to learn English.

[b] For identification of categories, see Table 58, supra, p. 139.

$\chi^2 = 75.19$ $Z = 5.85$
D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

TABLE 81

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF IN THE NEED TO KNOW ENGLISH FOR PUERTO RICO TO ADVANCE AND BECOME MODERNIZED, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	English for modernization[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	59.0 (23)	17.9 (7)	17.9 (7)	2.6 (1)	2.6 (1)	100.0 (39)
2	53.3 (258)	29.3 (142)	6.8 (33)	6.6 (32)	3.9 (19)	99.9 (484)
3	40.5 (47)	37.9 (44)	7.8 (9)	7.8 (9)	6.0 (7)	100.0 (116)
4	38.1 (8)	23.8 (5)	4.8 (1)	19.0 (4)	14.3 (3)	100.0 (21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	50.9 (336)	30.0 (198)	7.6 (50)	7.0 (46)	4.6 (30)	100.1 (660)
Normal deviates						
1	.71	-1.37	2.35	-1.04	-.58	
2	.74	-.27	-.61	-.30	-.64	
3	-1.57	1.56	.07	.32	.75	
4	-.82	-.52	-.47	2.10	2.09	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 80, supra, p. 164.

$\chi^2 = 26.34$
D.F. = 12

Z = 2.34
$P < .01$

TABLE 82

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE RESPONSES TO ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH WITH POWER AND WELL-BEING, BY WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR THE FUTURE

Sacrifice for future[a]	Composite responses					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	8.4 (23)	60.2 (165)	28.1 (77)	2.9 (8)	.4 (1)	100.0 (274)
2	7.5 (18)	62.1 (149)	25.4 (61)	5.0 (12)	.0 (0)	100.0 (240)
3	1.1 (1)	66.7 (62)	26.9 (25)	5.4 (5)	.0 (0)	100.1 (93)
4	3.8 (3)	53.2 (42)	35.4 (28)	7.6 (6)	.0 (0)	100.0 (79)
5	.0 (0)	44.4 (4)	22.2 (2)	33.3 (3)	.0 (0)	99.9 (9)
Col. tot.	6.5 (45)	60.7 (422)	27.8 (193)	4.9 (34)	.1 (1)	100.0 (695)
Normal deviates						
1	1.25	-.11	.10	-1.48	.96	
2	.62	.27	-.69	.08	-.59	
3	-2.05	.74	-.16	.21	-.37	
4	-.94	-.86	1.29	1.09	-.34	
5	-.76	-.63	-.32	3.86	-.11	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 62, *supra*, p. 143.

$\chi^2 = 31.47$ $Z = 2.26$

D.F. = 16 $P < .05$

Emphasis on association with "high culture"

The perception of an association of English with "high culture" appears to be no more affected by factors of mobility orientation than socio-economic position or residence. Table 83 indicates little notable association between measures of mobility orientation and either a belief that English is required for becoming a famous writer or that English lends itself to a familiarity with the arts. The strength of the one relationship found significant at the .01 level (that between the mobility orientation index and the belief that English is required for becoming a

TABLE 83

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH WITH "HIGH CULTURE" AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION
(Z scores)

Measures	English as associated with "high culture": For being a writer	English as associated with "high culture": For familiarity with arts
Sacrifice for future	1.22	-.33
Emphasis on money	.57	1.08
Job better than father's	.21	.18
Work for self-betterment	.93	1.75[a]
Composite index of mobility orientation	2.40[b]	-.31

[a] $P < .05$.

[b] $P < .01$.

famous writer) depended mostly on cells having too few expected observations to be considered reliable.

English and culture orientation

Table 84 reflects a fairly consistent pattern of high Z scores which relate attitudes toward the role of English in shaping cultural identity to measures of mobility orientation. The pattern observed with respect to demographic factors was somewhat less consistent. In general, mobility orientation appears to relate more strongly to an association of English with culture orientation than residence or socio-economic status.

TABLE 84

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOW ENGLISH RELATES TO CULTURE ORIENTATION AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measure	English and culture orientation[a]		
	1	2	3
Sacrifice for future	2.08[b]	3.70[c]	-.40
Emphasis on money	3.25[c]	.94	.90
Job better than father's	1.55	1.72[b]	-.89
Work for self-betterment	2.07[b]	1.00	.64
Composite index of mobility orientation	2.82[c]	2.88[c]	-.22

[a] Categories: belief that English can change cultural identity; (2) direction of cultural emphasis; (3) belief in the effect English may have on Puerto Rico.

[b] $P < .05$. [c] $P < .01$.

Pupils who are mobility oriented appear least likely (1) to believe that learning English will make them less Latin American or Puerto Rican and more North American (Table 85), and (2) to emphasize the need for Puerto Rico to become more Americanized (Table 86). In other words, the findings suggest that however favorable be attitudes toward second-language learning among mobility minded youths, these attitudes are not part of a drive to become at the same time more "American." Though Puerto Rican pupils who show signs of being mobility oriented are those most prone to attribute power to English speaking countries and to perceive a value of English for helping in the modernization of their country, they are apparently the last to feel that learning English will lead to a change in culture identity, a change which they fear more than their less mobile-minded peers. In short, those who want to learn English most may be the ones who are least likely to feel that second-language learning will change their own cultural identity.

The findings could mean one of three things. First, they may indicate that English is associated with only one of two possible definitions of Americanization--that which is analogous to technological advancement, material resources, and political power and stability. The second definition, having to do with ethnic culture, may be viewed apart from the language which represents it. It may be

TABLE 85

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO THE BELIEF THAT ENGLISH CAN CHANGE CULTURAL IDENTITY, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	English and cultural identity[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	12.8 (5)	15.4 (6)	20.5 (8)	30.8 (12)	20.5 (8)	100.0 (39)
2	11.4 (55)	9.7 (47)	24.4 (119)	15.2 (73)	39.2 (189)	99.9 (483)
3	19.0 (22)	16.4 (19)	24.1 (28)	14.7 (17)	25.9 (30)	100.1 (116)
4	23.8 (5)	23.8 (5)	28.6 (6)	.0 (0)	23.8 (5)	100.0 (21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	13.2 (87)	11.7 (77)	24.4 (161)	15.5 (102)	35.2 (232)	100.0 (659)
Normal deviates						
1	-.07	.68	-.50	2.43	-1.55	
2	-1.10	-1.26	.09	-.20	1.45	
3	1.71	1.48	-.06	-.23	-1.70	
4	1.34	1.63	.38	-1.80	-.88	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

[a] Categories: (1) I think that learning English would make me less Puerto Rican and more North American; (2) Learning English would make me less Latin American and more North American; (3) Learning English would make me more North American but not necessarily less Puerto Rican; (4) Learning English would make me more Puerto Rican, more North American, and less Latin American; (5) It would make me neither more nor less Latin American, North American, or Puerto Rican.

$\chi^2 = 30.58$ $Z = 2.82$

D.F. = 12 $P < .01$

TABLE 86

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES IN DIRECTION OF CULTURAL EMPHASIS, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Cultural emphasis[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	23.1 (9)	7.7 (3)	7.7 (3)	28.2 (11)	33.3 (13)	100.0 (39)
2	25.1 (121)	8.1 (39)	5.0 (24)	37.1 (179)	24.7 (119)	100.0 (482)
3	25.9 (30)	7.8 (9)	11.2 (13)	21.6 (25)	33.6 (39)	100.1 (116)
4	61.9 (13)	4.8 (1)	4.8 (1)	14.3 (3)	14.3 (3)	100.1 (21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	26.3 (173)	7.9 (52)	6.2 (41)	33.1 (218)	26.4 (174)	99.9 (658)
Normal deviates						
1	-.39	-.05	.37	-.53	.84	
2	-.51	.15	-1.10	1.53	-.75	
3	-.09	-.06	2.15	-2.17	1.50	
4	3.18	-.51	-.27	-1.50	-1.08	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

[a] Categories: (1) I think that it is important for Puerto Rico to become more Americanized; (2) It is inevitable that Puerto Rico become Americanized regardless of whether it conserves its Spanish heritage; (3) It is neither important for Puerto Rico to conserve its Spanish heritage nor to become more Americanized; (4) It is important that Puerto Rico conserve some of its Spanish heritage while becoming more Americanized; (5) It is important that Puerto Rico preserve its Spanish heritage.

$\chi^2 = 31.13$ $Z = 2.88$
D.F. = 12 $P < .01$

that those who are mobility minded perceive English as an instrument for their aspirations only as long as it is associated with the "modernistic" aspects of being American--those aspects which, in effect, allow them to be mobile. As long as the ethnic association of being American can be separated from the more material, the distinction may very likely be made, since it may be convenient to view the ethnic not only as foreign, but unnecessary to mobility aspirations.

The second possible interpretation of the results is not entirely divorced from the first. That mobility oriented students are most likely to have a desire to learn English may induce in them an acute feeling of guilt, a feeling that although English is necessary to reach a much vaunted goal, it poses at the same time a threat to their own cultural identity and language. This may account for the stronger rejection of Americanization (the ethnic type?) and concomitant affirmation that learning English has little to do with making one less of what he is and turning him into an "American" on the part of the more mobile-minded pupils. By refuting the importance of becoming Americanized the youth may be asserting that indeed he is above all Latin and a Puerto Rican; by disparaging or rationalizing the role of English in culture change he may be mollifying his feeling of guilt for desiring to learn the language.

Finally, the mobility-oriented youth may have simply a stronger sense of belonging to a culture. Being more culture-conscious, he would be more strongly opposed to potential modifications of his culture. And, having a stronger cultural commitment, he would be less likely to believe that learning English (or anything else for that matter) would make him less Puerto Rican.

Attitudes toward Americans

In turning now to the last group of variables, we find that Table 87 reveals no consistent pattern of relationships between mobility orientation and attitudes toward Americans. Those few relationships with high Z scores were found to have little consistency; they show, if anything, that those who place the highest value on having money are least likely to have positive feelings toward Americans (Table 88).

In sum, it appears that on the one hand mobility orientation is little affected by elements of socioeconomic position and residence, and that mobility-minded pupils may be found randomly in all social classes and areas. On the other hand, mobility orientation does not seem to follow lines of class or location with regard to its effect on second-language learning, and this appears particularly true where it concerns the desire to learn English, the association of English with political power and economic well-being, and an association of English with culture orientation.

TABLE 87

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICANS AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION
(Z scores)

Measure	Attitudes toward Americans[a]							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sacrifice for future	.28	-.44	-1.56	.10	-.15	-1.26	.53	-1.39
Emphasis on money	1.32	.07	.74	.12	1.07	2.87[b]	1.73[c]	2.69[b]
Job better than father's	-.17	-2.10	-.67	-.04	-.80	.05	-.84	-.85
Work for self-betterment	-.09	.25	1.32	.03	1.93[c]	.30	.26	1.43
Composite index of mobility orientation	.19	-.27	-.56	-1.00	-.25	.12	1.90[c]	.38

[a] Categories: (1) belief that Puerto Ricans are more honest than Americans; (2) belief that family life is more important to Puerto Ricans than Americans; (3) belief that, compared to Puerto Ricans, Americans are without imagination; (4) belief that Puerto Ricans appreciate art more than Americans; (5) belief that Puerto Rican children have better manners than American children; (6) belief that Americans would benefit greatly if they adopted many aspects of Puerto Rican culture; (7) belief that the American way of life is crude when compared to that of Puerto Ricans; (8) composite index of attitudes toward Americans.

[b] $P < .01$.

[c] $P < .05$.

TABLE 88

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO BELIEF THAT AMERICANS WOULD BENEFIT GREATLY IF THEY ADOPTED MANY ASPECTS OF PUERTO RICAN CULTURE, BY EMPHASIS ON MONEY

Emphasis on money[a]	Response					Row total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
1	16.2 (32)	41.9 (83)	33.8 (67)	7.6 (15)	.5 (1)	100.0 (198)
2	13.7 (31)	37.6 (85)	32.3 (73)	10.6 (24)	5.8 (13)	100.0 (226)
3	8.7 (15)	41.6 (72)	35.3 (61)	11.6 (20)	2.9 (5)	100.1 (173)
4	5.4 (3)	51.8 (29)	32.1 (18)	8.9 (5)	1.8 (1)	100.0 (56)
5	25.6 (11)	30.2 (13)	16.3 (7)	18.6 (8)	9.3 (4)	100.0 (43)
Col. tot.	13.2 (92)	40.5 (282)	32.5 (226)	10.3 (72)	3.4 (24)	99.9 (696)

Normal deviates

1	1.14	.31	.34	-1.21	-2.23
2	.21	-.69	-.04	.13	1.87
3	-1.65	.23	.64	.50	-.40
4	-1.62	1.32	-.04	-.33	-.67
5	2.23	-1.06	-1.86	1.68	2.07

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 58, *supra*, p. 139.

$\chi^2 = 37.15$ $Z = 2.87$
D.F. = 16 $P < .01$

Now that we have established that mobility orientation and demographic factors differ in the extent to which they influence certain kinds of attitudes in second-language learning, it may be worthwhile to examine how our independent variables relate to attitudes toward education in general. As a conclusion to this chapter, we take up the question of generalized attitudes toward learning.

Attitudes toward education

The propensity for learning English exhibited by the more mobile-minded pupils may very well be only an ingredient in a generally positive reaction to learning. This possibility is buttressed by Table 89 which shows fairly consistent relationships between attitudes toward education and measures (especially "willingness to sacrifice for the future" and "belief in working hard for self-betterment") of mobility orientation. Here, as we found in sections elsewhere, while mobility orientation appears to have an impact on attitudes, we find no strong evidence for demographic factors (Table 90). Indeed, location of school appears to be positively associated with attitudes toward learning, especially with regard to the value placed on formal education; Table 91 indicates that urban pupils place a higher value on education than their rural peers. None of the other factors, however, either of residence or socio-economic position, is so strongly tied to attitudes.

TABLE 89

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION AND MEASURES OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION (Z scores)

Measures	Attitudes toward education[a]				
	1	2	3	4	5
Sacrifice for future	2.77[b]	1.50	3.08[b]	1.19	3.29[b]
Emphasis on money	.04	.53	3.59[b]	-.14	1.13
Job better than father's	.10	1.21	1.42	1.38	.18
Work for self-betterment	2.70[b]	5.25[b]	1.73[c]	.87	3.51[b]
Composite index of mobility orientation	2.69[b]	2.53[b]	1.84[c]	1.40	3.73[b]

[a] Categories: (1) level of school to which pupil aspires; (2) value placed on formal education; (3) belief in the value of education for getting a job; (4) interest expressed toward learning; (5) composite index of attitudes toward education.

[b] $P < .01$ [c] $P < .05$

On the other hand, it seems clear (from Tables 92 through 96) that the more mobility-oriented the child is, the more likely he is to have attitudes favorable to schooling. The reactions of mobility-minded pupils are particularly favorable with regard to the level of school aspired to and the value placed on formal education.

Thus, we may conclude in the first place that perception of opportunities for advancement and aspirations to improve one's station in life do not appear to be

TABLE 90

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS (Z scores)

Factors	Attitudes toward education[a]				
	1	2	3	4	5
Area of school	.68	3.97[b]	1.11	-.40	2.29[c]
Birthplace of child	-.93	1.58	-.11	-.88	.13
Birthplace of parents	-.08	-.70	.22	.43	-2.06
Father's education	.65	-.87	1.17	-2.87	-.10
Parents' education	.50	-.43	.91	-2.06	-.41
Father's occupation	.34	1.08	.55	.07	-.63
Socio-economic position	-.68	1.41	.41	-.24	-.58

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 89, supra, p. 177.

[b] $P < .01$. [c] $P < .05$.

connected to social class or the area in which a pupil lives. Secondly, while an orientation to mobility seems to be related strongly to certain attitudes toward learning English, a relationship with mobility orientation is likely to apply more generally to attitudes toward education.

TABLE 91

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO THE VALUE OF EDUCATION, BY AREA OF SCHOOL

Area of school	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
San Juan	89.2	8.2	1.7	.9	.0	100.0
	(207)	(19)	(4)	(2)	(0)	(232)
Other urban	89.0	5.5	3.1	.8	1.6	100.0
	(276)	(14)	(8)	(2)	(4)	(254)
Rural	76.6	7.9	5.6	5.6	4.2	99.9
	(164)	(17)	(12)	(12)	(9)	(214)
Col. tot.	85.3	7.1	3.4	2.3	1.9	100.0
	(597)	(50)	(24)	(16)	(13)	(700)
Normal deviates						
San Juan	.65	.60	-1.40	-1.43	-2.08	
Other urban	.64	-.97	-.24	-1.58	-.33	
Rural	-1.37	.44	1.72	3.21	2.52	

[a] Categories: (1) I believe that a formal education is something that everyone should have; (2) Formal education is good for some but not for others; (3) Formal education is only useful for getting a job; (4) Formal education is useful, but takes up too much time; (5) Formal education is a waste of time.

$\chi^2 = 34.84$ $Z = 3.97$
D.F. = 8 $P < .01$

TABLE 92

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF RESPONSES TO LEVEL OF SCHOOL TO WHICH PUPIL ASPIRES, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Response[a] 1	2	3	4	5	Row total
1	80.0	17.5	2.5	.0	.0	100.0
	(32)	(7)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(40)
2	73.4	20.3	3.3	1.9	1.0	99.9
	(354)	(98)	(16)	(9)	(5)	(482)
3	62.9	22.4	11.2	2.6	.9	100.0
	(73)	(26)	(13)	(3)	(1)	(116)
4	42.8	42.8	4.8	9.5	.0	99.9
	(9)	(9)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	71.0	21.2	4.7	2.1	.9	99.9
	(468)	(140)	(31)	(14)	(6)	(659)
Normal deviates						
1	.67	-.51	-.64	-.92	-.60	
2	.63	-.43	-1.40	-.39	.29	
3	-1.03	.27	3.23	.34	-.05	
4	-1.53	2.15	.01	2.33	-.44	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

[a] Categories: (1) Assuming I had the money, I would like to go to a university; (2) I would like to finish high school; (3) I would like to continue school for a while longer; (4) I would like to leave school now but in the future I would like to continue my education; (5) I would like to leave school now and get a job.

$\chi^2 = 29.39$ $Z = 2.69$
D.F. = 12 $P < .01$

TABLE 93

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF VALUE PLACED ON FORMAL EDUCATION, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Response[a]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	90.0 (36)	5.0 (2)	2.5 (1)	2.5 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (40)
2	86.9 (419)	6.0 (29)	2.9 (14)	2.5 (12)	1.6 (8)	99.9 (482)
3	81.0 (94)	10.3 (12)	6.0 (7)	.9 (1)	1.7 (2)	99.9 (116)
4	61.9 (13)	14.3 (3)	4.8 (1)	4.8 (1)	14.3 (3)	100.1 (21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	85.3 (562)	7.0 (46)	3.5 (23)	2.3 (15)	2.0 (13)	100.1 (659)
Normal deviates						
1	.32	-.47	-.34	.09	-.89	
2	.39	-.80	-.69	.31	-.49	
3	-.50	1.37	1.47	-1.01	-.19	
4	-1.16	1.27	.31	.76	4.02	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 91, supra, p. 179.

$\chi^2 = 27.94$
D.F. = 12

Z = 2.53
$P < .01$

TABLE 94

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION, BY WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR FUTURE

Sacrifice for future[a]	Composite response					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	44.6	53.6	1.8	.0	.0	100.0
	(123)	(148)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(276)
2	40.2	58.0	1.3	.4	.0	99.9
	(95)	(137)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(236)
3	23.6	69.9	5.4	1.1	.0	100.0
	(22)	(65)	(5)	(1)	(0)	(93)
4	23.4	68.8	7.8	.0	.0	100.0
	(18)	(53)	(6)	(0)	(0)	(77)
5	22.2	66.6	11.1	.0	.0	99.9
	(2)	(6)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(9)
Col. tot.	37.6	59.2	2.9	.3	.0	100.0
	(260)	(409)	(20)	(2)	(0)	(691)
Normal deviates						
1	1.88	-1.20	-1.06	-.89	.0	
2	.66	-.23	-1.47	.38	.0	
3	-2.20	1.34	1.41	1.41	.0	
4	-2.04	1.10	2.53	-.47	.0	
5	-.75	.29	1.45	-.16	.0	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 62, *supra*, p. 143.

$\chi^2 = 35.01$ $Z = 3.29$
D.F. = 12 $P < .01$

TABLE 95

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION, BY BELIEF IN WORKING FOR SELF-BETTERMENT

Self-betterment[a]	Indexed response					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	43.8 (84)	53.6 (103)	2.1 (4)	.5 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (192)
2	40.0 (140)	57.4 (201)	2.6 (9)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (350)
3	28.3 (28)	66.7 (55)	5.0 (5)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (99)
4	19.4 (6)	77.4 (24)	3.2 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (31)
5	11.1 (2)	77.8 (14)	5.6 (1)	5.6 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (18)
Col. tot.	37.7 (260)	59.1 (408)	2.9 (20)	.3 (2)	.0 (0)	100.0 (690)
Normal deviates						
1	1.37	-.99	-.66	.59	.0	
2	.71	-.41	-.36	-1.01	.0	
3	-1.52	.98	1.26	-.54	.0	
4	-1.66	1.32	.11	-.30	.0	
5	-1.84	1.03	.66	4.15	.0	

[a] For identification of categories, see Table 58, *supra*, p. 139.

$\chi^2 = 37.31$ $Z = 3.51$
D.F. = 12 $P < .01$

TABLE 96

PERCENTAGES AND NORMAL DEVIATES OF COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION, BY COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOBILITY ORIENTATION

Composite index	Composite response					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	51.3 (20)	48.7 (19)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (39)
2	41.7 (200)	55.8 (268)	2.5 (12)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (480)
3	24.8 (28)	69.9 (79)	4.4 (5)	.9 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (113)
4	.0 (0)	90.5 (19)	9.5 (2)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (21)
5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Col. tot.	38.0 (248)	59.0 (385)	2.9 (19)	.2 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (653)
Normal deviates						
1	1.35	-.83	-1.07	-.24	.00	
2	1.31	-.89	-.53	-.86	.00	
3	-2.28	1.52	.94	1.99	.00	
4	-2.82	1.88	1.78	-.18	.00	
5	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	

$\chi^2 = 34.26$ $Z = 3.73$
D.F. = 9 $P < .01$

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC-PAROCHIAL AND INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES

We have been concerned with attitudinal disparities among ninth-grade pupils who are enrolled in public schools. We analyzed the effects of residence, social class, linguistic environment, sex, and mobility orientation on attitudes toward learning English. Generally, we found that, although there are significant attitudinal disparities associated with sex, language environment, and mobility orientation, the differences were by no means consistent. Even more important, perhaps, urban-rural distinctions and factors of socio-economic position, including parental education and occupation, had little relation to attitudes.

Neither proximity to urban centers nor membership in the more privileged social classes has much to do with shaping attitudes toward learning the second language. It is now demonstrated also that, even when combined, factors presumed to influence attitudes are not nearly so strong as we might have expected. Appendix G contains the results of contrasting those pupils who scored at each extreme on five principal independent variables (i.e., area of school, father's education, father's occupation, composite index of mobility orientation, and amount parents speak English). The "high" group consisted of mobility-minded pupils living in the San Juan area whose fathers are professionals or businessmen with at least some senior-high school education and whose parents speak English at least occasionally. The "low" group consisted of pupils who are not mobility oriented, who live in a rural area, whose fathers are laborers, small-scale farmers, or unemployed men possessing less than a seventh-grade education, and whose parents never speak English. While children of the high group possess attitudes which are more conducive to learning English, the contrast between the two sets of pupils is not striking. This can most conveniently be viewed in terms of some of the composite indices. For example, the high group is definitely more instrumentally oriented toward English, displays a greater desire to learn English, and more strongly identifies with the language (Tables 145, 168, and 178). However, considering that the two groups differ with respect to five major independent variables, we might have anticipated that their attitudes would have diverged more strongly. Consequently, we conclude that the observed attitudes are widely diffused among ninth-grade public-school pupils; no socially or regionally distinct group has a dominant claim on attitudes favorable to learning English.

We may now explore the differences between public and parochial school pupils and between pupils and their parents in each type of school. The main questions to be asked here are: "To what extent are Catholic-school pupils distinct from their public-school peers in attitudes toward learning the second language?" and "How do parents differ from their children with regard to such attitudes?"[1]

Motivational intensity

Because of the greater emphasis on English study in the private schools and because the positions to which many private school pupils aspire require a fluent knowledge of the language, we would expect such students to manifest more motivation to learn English. What we do in fact find may appear initially to be peculiar as well as unexpected. Tables 97 and 98 indicate that, while the parochial students spend more time studying English, they lack the motivation expressed by pupils in the public schools to continue their English studies after leaving school.

These findings may appear less puzzling if we make two things clear. First, as noted elsewhere, the parochial schools are more likely to place a heavy emphasis on

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[1] In certain cases, questions asked of parents were phrased in a somewhat different manner than those for students. Where a table concerns a question of this type, the wording in the parent schedule is stated in parentheses. On the very few questions asked of parents concerning attitudes when they were in school, illiterates were not expected to respond. Tables with no parental responses relate to questions asked only of pupils. Response distributions not shown in this chapter may be found in Appendix H.

TABLE 97

TIME SPENT STUDYING ENGLISH AT HOME, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	10.1	12.1	21.1	33.7	22.9	99.9	(700)
Catholic school pupils	10.1	20.8	25.0	25.4	18.8	100.1	(196)

[a] On the average, I spend: (1) more than six hours per week; (2) six hours per week; (3) four hours per week; (4) two hours per week; (5) less than one hour per week.

TABLE 98

PLANS FOR USING ENGLISH AFTER FINISHING SCHOOL, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	18.5	28.2	33.6	18.2	1.4	99.9	(702)
Catholic school pupils	9.2	24.0	43.9	23.0	.0	100.1	(196)

[a] After finishing school, I will: (1) go to the U.S. to become an expert in English; (2) continue bettering my English (e.g., through daily practice, night school, etc.); (3) try to use my English here as much as possible; (4) try to use my English occasionally; (5) not bother to remember English.

English. As a result, we can anticipate that, since pupils within the Catholic system receive a more intense training in the language, they may be less likely to feel a need to further improve their knowledge of English outside the school (Table 98). Secondly, parochial pupils, coming from homes where the opportunity costs of an education (i.e., earnings foregone while the pupil is in school) are much more easily afforded, are not as likely to drop out of school. "Leaving school" to them has a different meaning--it is an event for the not-so-imminent future, far enough away to allow them to attain a satisfactory command of the language. The public-school pupil, on the other hand, may not be so confident that he will accomplish his goals concerning English within his comparatively short stay in school.

Desire to learn English

The previous section dealing with motivational intensity reported results not entirely in keeping with our expectations. In the case of the desire to learn English, too, the findings were unanticipated. On the one hand, Tables 99 and 100 indicate that Catholic-school pupils manifest a greater classroom interest in English and have a greater desire to read the language than public-school children. In addition, the parochial students (as evidenced by Table 101) appear to have overall a greater desire to

TABLE 99

INTEREST IN ENGLISH CLASS, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	4.0	65.0	9.6	17.5	3.8	99.9	(701)
Catholic school pupils	9.7	64.3	12.2	12.2	1.5	99.9	(196)
Public school parents	32.8	44.6	11.5	7.5	3.6	100.0	(305)
Catholic school parents	43.8	43.8	2.7	6.8	2.7	99.8	(73)

[a] During English class I (used to): (1) become absorbed in the material; (2) pay attention to almost all that the teacher says (said); (3) have a tendency to think about other things once in a while; (4) have to force myself to listen to the teacher; (5) become bored.

learn the second language; yet it is the public-school students who have the more intense desire for more English to be brought into their schools (Table 102).

These seemingly contradictory results may be explained in much the same way as results in the previous section. Public-school pupils, possessing inferior resources by which to acquire an education as a means to improving their social position, are probably less secure in accomplishing their goals. In the last chapter we observed that such goals were extremely high. Extensive orientation to

TABLE 100

DESIRE TO READ MATERIALS IN ENGLISH, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	2.4	52.2	40.5	4.0	.8	99.9	(703)
Catholic school pupils	7.2	60.5	30.3	1.5	.5	100.0	(195)
Public school parents	1.9	47.3	41.8	4.8	4.1	99.9	(313)
Catholic school parents	3.8	55.1	37.2	3.8	.0	99.9	(78)

[a] If I had the opportunity and sufficient knowledge of English, I would (have liked as a youth to have) read English language newspapers and magazines: (1) exclusively (more so than those of Spanish); (2) often; (3) occasionally; (4) almost never; (5) never.

lofty goals together with not being able to rely on time adequately spent in being educated for the accomplishment of these goals may lead to an intensive drive to develop what skills they can to make them more socially and economically mobile. English, as noted previously, may be perceived as being one of the most important of such skills. As a result, while the parochial students may feel that the more English-oriented curricula of their schools provide them with sufficient tools for moving up on the social scale, their public-school peers are likely to feel the relative inadequacy of their education--irrespective of how improved their English training may be over that of their parents.

TABLE 101

COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN THE DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Composite responses (%) Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	Total %	n
Public school pupils	6.3	66.7	23.7	3.2	.1	100.0	(684)
Catholic school pupils	5.6	74.9	18.5	1.0	.0	100.0	(195)
Public school parents	7.5	63.6	25.4	3.6	.0	100.1	(280)
Catholic school parents	8.2	75.8	11.5	4.9	.0	100.4	(61)

Here, again, however, we are confronted with a paradox. If public-school students yearn for more English instruction, why do they not study the language as much, want as much to read materials in the language, or pay attention as much in class as do the Catholic students? The answer may be found in terms of the differing environments of the two types of schools. The parochial school, being more selective in its recruitment of pupils and possessing greater financial capability to raise standards,

TABLE 102

PREFERENCES WITH REGARD TO CHANGES IN THE WAY ENGLISH IS TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOL, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	22.1	37.0	32.9	4.6	3.4	100.0	(698)
Catholic school pupils	29.1	16.8	48.0	4.1	2.0	100.0	(196)
Public school parents	23.2	46.1	24.8	4.8	1.0	99.9	(310)
Catholic school parents	35.1	28.6	33.8	2.6	.0	100.1	(77)

[a] If I had the opportunity to change the way in which English is taught in the school, I would: (1) make English the language of instruction for most subjects; (2) increase the amount of English required of each pupil; (3) maintain the amount of English used at present; (4) decrease the amount of English required of each pupil; (5) not have English taught at all.

is able to expect more from its pupils. With more demanded of him, the Catholic-school student is more stimulated to involve himself in activities commensurate with school expectations, including those related to English learning. As long as these activities are liberally provided, participation in them may be all that is necessary to satisfy a need for English as a potential instrument in social mobility. The public-school child, on the other hand, may find himself in an environment where the demands to follow a rigorous course of English study are not as great. Consequently, the student in the public school, in comparison to his Catholic counterpart, may experience a hiatus between a felt need to know English and a stimulus to excel in it.

Finally, these remarks can be cautiously extended to the parent groups. For the most part, distinctions between parents paralleled those of their children. Catholic-school parents expressed a greater desire to learn English and more of them wanted English as the medium of instruction in the schools, but not as many asked to have English increased in the schools. More important, perhaps, is that parents in both types of schools manifested a greater desire than their children to have second-language instruction increased. This can mean that parents, being more aware of the requisites for mobility and material advancement, are also more cognizant of the values of English for enhancing one's capacity to move ahead.

Instrumental orientation

In general, we find few noticeable group distinctions in attitudes toward the use of English for achieving specific ends. However, one distinction does emerge rather strongly, one that is particularly significant in view of recent changes in school-language requirements. As we observed in Chapter I, English was the language of instruction for nonlanguage subjects in at least some secondary and/or primary grades during most of the first half of the century. This would mean that a good many parents of today's youngsters had presumably learned English. At present, no such language requirement exists (at least for the public schools), and a child could now conceivably complete his education without ever having to learn English.

Yet, Table 103 indicates that today's children feel much more strongly about the necessity of English for getting by in school than do their parents when speaking of

TABLE 103

NEED FOR ENGLISH TO GET BY IN SCHOOL, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%) Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total %	Total *n*
Public school pupils	55.1	30.1	8.1	3.3	3.4	100.0	(701)
Catholic school pupils	60.7	29.6	7.1	1.5	1.0	99.9	(196)
Public school parents	43.9	20.7	14.1	11.0	10.3	100.0	(319)
Catholic school parents	51.2	25.0	8.6	5.0	10.0	99.8	(80)

the time they went to school. The findings would seem to indicate that, in effect, the linguistic requirement at present in the schools, even though English has been relegated to just one course, is far higher and more demanding than it was a generation ago. We should also note that, to a slight degree, parochial-school pupils appear to need English more for doing well in school than pupils in the public schools.

Encouragement by parents to study English

The expectations we observed previously as contributing to the greater desire and motivation among Catholic-school pupils to learn English are not derived entirely from the school. Intellectual stimulation in the home also differentiates these students from those in the public schools (Tables 104 and 105). It would appear that

TABLE 104

EXTENT TO WHICH PARENTS ENCOURAGE ENGLISH STUDY, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%) Very much 1	2	3	Not at all 4	5	Total %	*n*
Public school pupils	41.5	29.5	16.4	3.8	8.7	99.9	(701)
Catholic school pupils	53.0	34.2	7.7	2.6	2.6	100.1	(196)

TABLE 105

EXTENT TO WHICH PARENTS ENCOURAGE STUDY IN GENERAL, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%) Very much 1	2	3	Not at all 4	5	Total %	*n*
Public school pupils	46.7	29.4	14.5	2.7	6.7	100.0	(698)
Catholic school pupils	69.9	20.4	6.6	.5	2.6	100.0	(196)

differential conditions in both the school and home may work toward perpetuating a gap between public and parochial school children in expectations for the future and attitudes toward English and educational attainment.

Extent to which pupil uses English

The same circumstances that differentiate parochial from public school children in motivation and desire to learn English are likely to determine their actual experiences in using the language. Involvement with parents and teachers whose experiences with English are probably more extensive results in the greater use by the Catholic pupil of the second language. Catholic pupils may not only be more intensively stimulated to learn English by conditions of home and school, but are more likely to participate in an environment where the use of English is encouraged if not expected (Table 106).

TABLE 106

EXTENT TO WHICH ENGLISH IS USED, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	5.0	43.0	8.7	40.7	2.6	100.0	(702)
Catholic school pupils	10.2	55.1	23.5	10.7	.5	100.0	(196)

[a] I used my knowledge of English: (1) more often than my knowledge of Spanish; (2) when conversing with certain friends and/or members of my family as well as in class; (3) only in class or when speaking with Americans; (4) only in class; (5) never.

Identification with English

Attitudes toward learning a language as well as use of that language are conditioned by home and school. Environmental impressions act upon the child in such a way as to make an association with a particular language either "natural" or "foreign." The Puerto Rican youth whose father served in the American armed forces is likely to experience the use of English to the extent that it becomes not totally foreign. When both parents have spent considerable time in the continental United States, the language may take on a natural character. And, when the child experiences at least an occasional English conversation at home and has teachers who are "continentals" or have been educated on the mainland, English may become nearly as natural to use as Spanish. As the language loses its foreignness, an involvement with English should become part of an association with the culture it represents. Bilingualism is always a matter of degree. But there can be no doubt that what operates to make a language less foreign is largely a matter of the extent to which the child identifies himself with the language and its attendant culture and considers them a natural part of his existence.

Observations in previous sections suggest strongly that the environmental stimuli acting on Catholic-school youngsters are more likely to produce attitudes conducive to second-language learning. By the same token, more favorable conditions should result in a more intense identification with English and with North American culture among parochial-school pupils. Our findings do, in fact, bear out these expectations (Tables 107-110). Parochial students do in general identify more strongly with English; to a larger extent they wish their children to grow up speaking English, they find more pleasure in speaking the language, and they more readily think of themselves as being North American.

Parents are again divided along the same lines as their children; in general parents of Catholic-school pupils have more affinity for the second language and more strongly identify themselves as North Americans. In general, identification with English seems to be stronger among children than parents in both public and parochial schools.

TABLE 107

IDENTIFICATION WITH AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Frequently 1	2	3	4	Never 5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	37.8	30.9	16.1	4.7	10.5	100.0	(696)
Catholic school pupils	48.7	27.7	12.8	4.1	6.7	100.0	(195)
Public school parents	50.3	22.6	11.8	7.3	8.0	100.0	(314)
Catholic school parents	63.3	19.0	6.3	2.5	8.9	100.0	(79)

TABLE 108

DESIRE TO HAVE CHILDREN GROW UP AS ENGLISH SPEAKERS, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Definitely yes 1	2	3	4	Definitely no 5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	55.1	28.3	10.7	2.3	3.6	100.0	(702)
Catholic school pupils	67.3	22.4	8.7	.0	1.5	99.9	(196)
Public school parents	45.3	31.6	13.4	5.6	4.1	100.0	(320)
Catholic school parents	66.2	18.7	12.5	1.2	1.2	99.8	(80)

TABLE 109

EXTENT TO WHICH SPEAKING ENGLISH IS ENJOYED, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%) Very much 1	2	3	Not at all 4	5	Total %	n
Public school pupils	40.7	34.0	17.8	2.7	4.7	99.9	(702)
Catholic school pupils	43.4	41.3	13.8	1.5	.0	100.0	(196)
Public school parents	31.6	31.6	19.3	9.5	7.9	99.9	(316)
Catholic school parents	44.8	28.2	20.5	2.6	3.9	100.0	(78)

TABLE 110

COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN IDENTIFICATION WITH ENGLISH, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Composite responses (%) Positive 1	2	3	Negative 4	5	Total %	n
Public school pupils	14.8	59.4	19.7	5.6	.4	99.9	(695)
Catholic school pupils	16.9	65.6	15.9	1.5	.0	99.9	(195)
Public school parents	13.3	50.3	27.0	8.0	1.3	99.9	(300)
Catholic school parents	21.1	57.9	11.8	9.2	.0	100.0	(76)

English and culture orientation

It was reported in the previous chapter that the more mobility-oriented public-school pupils stood out in their desire to learn English, in their view of the Americanization of Puerto Rico, and in their denial that learning English would make them less Latin or Puerto Rican. We now find that Catholic-school students follow much the same pattern as their mobility-minded age-mates in the public schools (Tables 111 and 112). Catholic students feel less

TABLE 111

EFFECT OF LEARNING ON NATIONALITY, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	12.9	11.7	24.9	15.0	35.4	99.9	(698)
Catholic school pupils	3.6	4.6	33.2	8.7	50.0	100.1	(196)
Public school parents	9.5	7.0	33.6	12.4	35.6	100.1	(315)
Catholic school parents	1.3	1.3	34.2	2.5	60.8	100.1	(79)

[a] I think that learning English would make me: (1) less of a Puerto Rican citizen and more of a North American citizen; (2) less of a Latin American and more of a North American citizen; (3) more of a North American but not necessarily less of a Puerto Rican citizen; (4) more Puerto Rican, more North American, and less Latin American; (5) neither more nor less Latin American, North American, or Puerto Rican.

strongly that (1) Puerto Rico should become more Americanized and (2) learning English would contribute significantly to Americanization.

TABLE 112

DESIRE FOR CULTURAL CHANGE, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	26.1	7.9	6.6	33.1	26.3	100.0	(697)
Catholic school pupils	12.2	5.1	4.6	51.5	26.5	99.9	(196)
Public school parents	20.4	9.2	3.8	46.8	19.7	99.9	(314)
Catholic school parents	3.9	14.3	3.9	54.5	23.4	100.0	(77)

[a] I think that it is: (1) important for Puerto Rico to become more Americanized; (2) inevitable that Puerto Rico become more Americanized regardless of whether or not it preserves its Spanish heritage; (3) neither important for Puerto Rico to preserve its Spanish heritage nor to become more Americanized; (4) important for Puerto Rico to conserve some of its Spanish heritage while becoming more Americanized; (5) important for Puerto Rico to preserve its Spanish heritage.

However unexpected it may appear for mobility-oriented pupils to deny that learning English would have little effect on the mostly repudiated development of Americanization, it is even more peculiar for parochial students to do so. We noted that the Catholic pupils are more likely to live in a milieu in which English is accepted as an everyday language, and for them an involvement with English and American culture is both natural and unavoidable. Furthermore, we observed a stronger identification with being North American among these children--an identification not made among the more mobility-minded public school pupils in contrast to their less mobility oriented peers.

We can resort to the same interpretations in the case of public-parochial school distinctions as we did with differences in mobility orientation for the public schools. The comparative disavowal by Catholic students of the importance of becoming Americanized in contrast to their stronger identity with being American may indicate that they conceive of more than one way "to be American," at least one of which they accept favorably and at least one other of which they repudiate. Or, a feeling of culpability arising from a relatively intense desire to acquire a command of English may lead them to deny any harmful effect of learning the second language on their own heritage and yet to reaffirm their opposition to any practice which might make them less Puerto Rican.

But this brings us to some important alternatives. Is the comparatively strong denial of the importance of becoming Americanized and refusal to accept the possibility that English may make one less Latin or Puerto Rican on the part of parochial-school students the result of something inherent in their training? Or, is the pattern they follow like that of the more mobility-minded public-school students because they themselves are more mobility-oriented than their public-school peers, suggesting, perhaps, that orientation to mobility is the primary causal factor? These questions will await elaboration in a later section. Meanwhile, we emphasize that parents follow a pattern similar to their children: Catholic-school parents are those who most strongly reject the importance of becoming American and the suggestion that learning English makes one less of a Latin American or Puerto Rican. Therefore, an interpretation of the differential reactions of public-parochial school pupils may apply equally well to their parents.

Attitudes toward Americans

We found in the last section that Catholic students are, on the one hand, more likely than public-school pupils to identify strongly with English and American citizenship. They are also more likely to deny the importance of becoming Americanized and feel less strongly that learning English would make them less Latin or Puerto Rican. What, then, might be their attitudes toward Americans in contrast to those of public-school pupils? Tables 113 through 117 suggest that to a considerable degree Catholic students are

TABLE 113

DEGREES OF AGREEMENT ON THE STATEMENT THAT AMERICANS LACK IMAGINATION, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	4.0	13.9	35.7	29.5	16.9	100.0	(698)
Catholic school pupils	2.6	7.1	38.3	34.2	17.9	100.1	(196)
Public school parents	3.2	10.6	30.3	34.5	21.3	99.9	(310)
Catholic school parents	1.3	2.5	21.2	43.7	31.2	99.9	(80)

TABLE 114

DEGREES OF AGREEMENT ON THE STATEMENT THAT, COMPARED TO PUERTO RICANS, AMERICANS LACK AN APPRECIATION OF ART, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	9.9	26.6	36.2	20.2	7.0	99.9	(698)
Catholic school pupils	6.1	15.3	44.4	28.1	6.1	100.0	(196)
Public school parents	9.8	25.1	31.1	26.0	7.9	99.9	(315)
Catholic school parents	1.3	11.2	35.0	33.7	18.7	99.9	(80)

TABLE 115

DEGREES OF AGREEMENT ON THE STATEMENT THAT, COMPARED TO PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN, AMERICAN CHILDREN LACK MANNERS, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%) Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total %	Total n
Public school pupils	6.3	18.9	45.3	20.2	9.3	100.0	(698)
Catholic school pupils	5.1	9.2	51.0	24.0	10.7	100.0	(196)
Public school parents	7.0	17.5	41.7	26.7	7.0	99.9	(314)
Catholic school parents	7.4	6.2	37.4	35.0	13.7	99.7	(80)

TABLE 116

DEGREES OF AGREEMENT ON STATEMENT THAT AMERICANS WOULD BENEFIT GREATLY IF THEY ADOPTED ASPECTS OF PUERTO RICAN CULTURE, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%) Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total %	Total n
Public school pupils	13.2	40.7	32.5	10.3	3.3	100.0	(699)
Catholic school pupils	7.7	33.3	38.5	17.9	2.6	100.0	(195)
Public school parents	18.7	35.8	26.9	15.2	3.5	100.1	(316)
Catholic school parents	8.6	30.0	31.2	22.6	7.4	99.8	(80)

more favorably inclined toward their North American neighbors, as are their parents, in comparison to parents of public-school children.

TABLE 117

COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICANS, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Composite responses (%) Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total %	Total *n*
Public school pupils	1.0	29.7	55.0	13.5	.7	99.9	(694)
Catholic school pupils	1.5	18.5	60.5	18.5	1.0	100.0	(195)
Public school parents	.3	27.2	53.1	19.0	.3	99.9	(305)
Catholic school parents	.0	13.0	45.4	33.8	7.8	100.0	(77)

Thus, it would seem that the greater environmental press toward English and North American culture experienced by parochial-school children has led them to have a more positive perception of Americans, irrespective of the need they might feel to assert their Puerto Rican character. The pattern which emerges is one in which Catholic-school students, participating in an environment where identification with English and American citizenship is common, are more likely than their public-school peers to desire to learn English, to use the language and identify with it, and to be more partial to the people with whom it is associated. That Catholic pupils feel rather benevolent toward Americans as well as identify with English and American culture, suggests even more strongly that these students may feel a need to affirm their character as Puerto Ricans. The strong ties to another culture and its people may create feelings of insecurity due to a confusion in cultural identity. Parochial-school children may feel challenged by their own cultural ambivalence, which leads them to affirm their allegiance to customary ethnic ways. The denial that English will alter these ways may then tend to mitigate the insecurity which arises from not being absorbed into one or the other culture. Moreover, the pattern appears to hold for parents as well as for their children. Parochial-school parents, like their children, seem more intent on asserting their Puerto Rican character while they identify more with English and take a more tolerant view of Americans.

Orientation to mobility

We return now to the question of whether the similarity of Catholic-school students to the more mobility-minded of the public-school pupils is actually due to their being in general more mobility-oriented than their fellows in the public schools. If we find that Catholic students are substantially more mobility-minded than their non-parochial peers, it may indicate that the differences in attitudes are due really to this greater orientation to mobility, since their attitudes follow a pattern analogous to the more mobility-oriented of the public-school pupils.

Our findings do indeed reflect a greater orientation to mobility for Catholic pupils over public. Tables 118, 119, and 120 suggest that parochial students are more willing to sacrifice for the future, believe more strongly in working hard for self-betterment, and, in general, are more mobility-minded. Thus, it is not unwarranted to conclude that many of the differences in attitudes toward English between public and parochial students are due at least partially to the greater orientation to mobility of the latter.

TABLE 118

WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR THE FUTURE, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	39.7	34.3	13.4	11.3	1.3	100.0	(700)
Catholic school pupils	44.4	38.3	5.6	10.2	1.5	100.0	(196)

[a] If suddenly I received a sum of money, I would: (1) save all or almost all for my future education; (2) save part of the money for my future education and the rest I would use immediately; (3) buy the things I would need with the money; (4) keep it for an emergency; (5) use it for enjoyment such as traveling, dancing, etc.

TABLE 119

BELIEF IN THE VALUE OF SELF-IMPROVEMENT, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	27.6	50.4	14.7	4.4	2.9	100.0	(699)
Catholic school pupils	42.6	42.6	11.8	1.5	1.5	100.0	(195)

[a] Due to the rapid economic development of Puerto Rico: (1) there is no excuse for a person not to try to better himself; (2) we should take advantage of the new opportunities for bettering ourselves; (3) most people should be better off without exerting themselves; (4) people need not worry about losing what they have; (5) the rich will get richer and the poor will get poorer.

TABLE 120

COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN MOBILITY ORIENTATION, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Composite responses (%)					Total	
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	6.1	73.2	17.6	3.2	.0	100.1	(660)
Catholic school pupils	7.4	80.1	9.1	3.4	.0	100.0	(176)

Attitudes toward education

In the previous chapter we observed that the more favorable attitudes toward English held by the more mobility-oriented public-school pupils appeared to be part of a more inclusive configuration of attitudes toward education in general. If we are to generalize from the relationships of the last chapter in suggesting that mobility orientation may be a causal factor in determining attitudes toward education, and therefore toward English, we should find that both the more mobility-minded pupils of the public schools and the mobility-oriented Catholic-school students hold attitudes conducive to learning in general. In fact, we have already noted that the more mobility-oriented of the public-school pupils are more favorably inclined toward education than the less mobility-minded students in the same schools. What we anticipate now is that the parochial pupils, being most oriented to mobility, should hold the more positive attitudes toward education.

Our expectations tend to be borne out by Tables 121, 122, and 123. Parochial-school pupils aspire to a higher grade level, place a greater value on the necessity of acquiring an education, and, in general, hold the more favorable attitudes toward education. In short, it is suggested that the more positive attitudes toward English held by Catholic-school students may be merely an aspect of a more favorable inclination toward education, and this in turn may be due to a more extensive orientation to mobility.

TABLE 121

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	n
Public school pupils	71.0	21.1	4.8	2.0	1.0	99.9	(701)
Catholic school pupils	87.8	6.1	5.1	1.0	.0	100.0	(196)
Public school parents	32.3	24.9	31.0	5.1	6.7	100.0	(316)
Catholic school parents	59.7	18.1	18.1	2.8	1.4	100.1	(72)

[a] I would like to (when I was young I wanted to): (1) go to a university; (2) finish high school; (3) continue school a while longer (than I did); (4) leave school but in the future continue my education; (5) forget about school and get a job.

The effect of socio-economic status (SES)

One final question needs to be considered. This concerns whether the differential reactions between pupils of the public and parochial schools are ultimately a matter of social class. Could the absence of class differences regarding attitudinal propensities which we observed within

TABLE 122

BELIEF IN THE VALUE OF AN EDUCATION, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	15.9	53.9	25.0	2.6	2.6	100.0	(697)
Catholic school pupils	24.0	55.1	17.3	2.6	1.0	100.0	(196)
Public school parents	48.7	29.3	13.9	3.9	4.2	100.0	(313)
Catholic school parents	72.2	18.7	5.3	.0	4.0	100.2	(75)

[a] I think that an education: (1) is necessary whether or not one is seeking a job; (2) is essential for getting the kind of job I want (wanted when I was young); (3) is useful for getting the kind of job I want (wanted when I was young); (4) may or may not be useful for getting the kind of job I want (wanted when I was young); (5) is not necessary for getting the kind of job I want (wanted when I was young).

the public schools be due to a scarcity of those pupils belonging to classes high in the social hierarchy, to all of the upper and most of the upper-middle classes having been siphoned out of the public schools by their recruitment into the private schools (Table 124)? Ultimately, we have no clear way of determining whether differences in attitudes between pupils of different school types are the result of these pupils coming from different socio-economic

TABLE 123

COMPOSITE RESPONSES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION, BY PUBLIC AND CATHOLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Composite responses (%)					Total	
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	%	*n*
Public school pupils	37.7	59.2	2.9	.3	.0	100.1	(693)
Catholic school pupils	43.4	55.6	.5	.5	.0	100.0	(195)
Public school parents	28.0	62.1	9.2	.7	.0	100.0	(296)
Catholic school parents	50.7	46.4	1.4	1.4	.0	99.9	(69)

backgrounds. Public and parochial school pupils were selected from distinct lists, were stratified along lines not wholly equivalent, and were likely to be affected by the different modes of articulation of their respective schools. Most important, however, is that, if when we pool the two schools together and then in fact find attitudinal differences between them along class lines, we could not be sure that these differences were due to social class rather than to the qualitatively distinct instruction they receive in their schools.

The results of pooling, however, suggest that the lack of association between social class and attitudes

TABLE 124

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF PUPILS, BY FATHER'S EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS FOR PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

	Categories[a]					
Factors	High 1	2	3	4	Low 5	Total
Public schools						
Education	6.6	15.5	20.0	51.4	6.6	100.1
	(46)	(108)	(139)	(358)	(46)	(696)
Occupation	2.6	16.9	32.3	36.2	12.2	100.2
	(18)	(118)	(225)	(252)	(85)	(697)
SES	2.0	13.2	40.0	36.7	8.3	100.2
	(14)	(91)	(277)	(253)	(57)	(690)
Parochial schools						
Education	28.2	40.0	15.9	14.9	1.0	100.0
	(55)	(78)	(31)	(29)	(2)	(195)
Occupation	10.8	40.0	29.2	16.9	3.1	100.0
	(21)	(78)	(57)	(33)	(6)	(195)
SES	10.3	41.7	35.1	10.8	2.1	100.0
	(20)	(81)	(68)	(21)	(4)	(194)

[a] Categories of education may be found in Appendix B, Part 1, question 6.

toward English among public-school pupils holds generally for ninth-grade pupils. In testing the relationships between the socio-economic status (SES) of public and parochial school youngsters and two factors which were found to relate strongly to linguistic environment, interest in English and identification with English, we find that attitudes toward English are not affected significantly by SES (Tables 125 and 126).

TABLE 125

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES) AND INTEREST IN ENGLISH: POOLED PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL STUDENT SAMPLES

(Public student responses given twice the weight of responses of parochial students)[a]

SES[c]	Interest in English[b]					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	8.3 (4)	60.4 (29)	27.1 (13)	4.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (48)
2	8.7 (23)	57.8 (152)	28.1 (74)	5.3 (14)	0.0 (0)	99.9 (263)
3	7.7 (48)	69.0 (429)	20.1 (125)	2.2 (14)	1.0 (6)	100.0 (622)
4	8.7 (46)	69.2 (365)	16.1 (85)	5.9 (31)	0.0 (0)	99.9 (527)
5	11.0 (13)	68.6 (81)	13.6 (16)	6.8 (8)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (118)
Col. tot.	8.5 (134)	66.9 (1056)	19.8 (313)	4.4 (69)	.4 (6)	100.0 (1578)
Normal deviates						
1	-.05	-.55	1.14	-.07	-.56	
2	.15	-1.80	3.02	.74	-1.00	
3	-.66	.68	.14	-2.53	2.32	
4	.28	.65	-1.09	1.67	-1.42	
5	.95	.23	-1.53	1.23	-.67	

[a] Weights were assigned as a result of the sample of public-school pupils consisting of approximately 2.5 per cent of the public-school ninth-grade population, while that of parochial-school pupils was about five per cent of the Catholic-school ninth-grade population.

[b] For identification of categories, see Table 14, *supra*, p. 87.

[c] See Appendix A.

TABLE 126

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SES AND COMPOSITE INDEX OF IDENTIFICATION WITH ENGLISH: POOLED PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL STUDENT SAMPLES

(Public student responses given twice the weight of responses of parochial students)

SES	Composite index of English identification					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1	2.1 (1)	10.8 (34)	22.9 (11)	4.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (48)
2	12.4 (32)	62.8 (162)	19.4 (50)	4.6 (12)	.8 (2)	100.0 (258)
3	16.1 (99)	63.6 (392)	15.6 (96)	4.7 (29)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (616)
4	16.6 (81)	54.7 (286)	22.2 (116)	5.7 (30)	.8 (4)	100.0 (523)
5	17.2 (20)	52.6 (61)	25.0 (29)	5.2 (6)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (116)
Col. tot.	15.3 (239)	59.9 (935)	19.3 (302)	5.1 (79)	.4 (6)	100.0 (1561)
Normal deviates						
1	-2.33	.96	.56	-.26	-.56	
2	-1.19	.60	.01	-.28	1.00	
3	.49	1.19	-2.13	-.39	-1.55	
4	.77	-1.88	1.48	.68	1.42	
5	.66	-1.02	1.39	.04	-.30	

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As in other developing countries, social change in Puerto Rico is a potent and a disruptive force. It can be seen as a threat to national identity and cohesion or as an avenue to reform, modernization, and a sense of nationality. While it involves the adoption of new values, it does not prevent many old values from remaining entrenched and unaltered. Change arouses mixed fears and ideological conflicts which threaten to frustrate potential progress. In the wake of change, a once predominant and widely cherished ethos may be viewed by many with sentiment and sympathy, but no longer to be exemplified in a way of life.

Language functions as a symbol for those who promote social change as well as for those who resist or merely wish to channel it. To persons who emphasize the necessity of rapid technological advance, a widespread learning of English may symbolize an emergence of values in accord with a drive to modernize the Island. To others, learning English may represent more the passing of traditional culture. In this sense, language is recognized as being more than a medium of communication; it is a means of defining experience. According to Sapir, a language is in effect:

> a guide to "social reality" . . . . Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. . . . The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.[1]

Since English serves as the linguistic bond with North Americans, it is a lingua franca of the Puerto Rican people. However, many Puerto Ricans may fear that learning a new language could at least partially remove the "social reality" to which they are accustomed, which may cause them to be ambivalent if not overtly hostile toward English. Certainly, a concern for minimizing its effect is one reason why so much effort has been directed at keeping English as the second language in the schools. But if Puerto Ricans are alarmed about learning a second language as a threat to their way of life, they also perceive its potential as a prime instrument of self-improvement and of promotion in a rapidly expanding economic and social structure. English in Puerto Rico has come to symbolize a new social order, one which is resisted and challenged because it is different, but one that is accepted because it opens up vistas of new opportunities.

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[1] David G. Mandelbaum (ed.), Selected Writings of Edward Sapir (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), p. 162. Also see Harry Hoijer, "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis," Language in Culture, Conference on the Interrelations of Language and Other Aspects of Culture, ed., Harry Hoijer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 92-94.

In surveying attitudes of ninth-grade pupils in both public and Catholic schools, this study has sought reactions to second-language learning at a grade level before the attrition rate of the school population becomes high, and therefore before the selection process sifts out most of the least intelligent, least motivated, or economically least endowed students. Parental attitudes have been elicited also in order to assess the existence of intergenerational differences. Our primary concern has been to ascertain whether those pupils who were most apt to benefit from the evolution of the new order were those who displayed least resistance to learning English and greatest appreciation of it as a means for self-betterment.

To be sure, the groups benefiting most from an emergent order are those whose values are likely to be in step with social change. These include individuals living near centers of industry and commerce where opportunity for advancement in the social and economic hierarchy is greatest, members of the expanding middle class whose achieved social position is most likely to make them appreciative of instruments for improvement, and those whose attitudes are most conducive to upward social mobility and who are therefore most likely to strive for mobility. It may be also that children, living at a time when opportunity for advancement is at its greatest, are more likely than their parents to perceive the values of change. In addition, our interest extended to attitudinal variations between boys and girls and among pupils coming from different language environments.

What has been said about learning a second language as an instrument of advancement can, of course, be applied to learning in general. However, two reasons are suggested for treating English apart from the rest of the curriculum. First, English, as a prominent symbol of emergent values, is likely to be a focus of opposition between persons who wish to preserve a way of life associated with traditional values and those who adhere to values fitted to the expansion of economic and social opportunities. As the adoption of a new language may very well change the "social reality" of the people who come to speak it, learning a second language is more crucial to a consideration of cultural cohesion than is science, mathematics, or even history.

Second, acquiring a lingua franca signifies that the user has certain distinguishing qualities. In Puerto Rico, one need merely speak English fluently to persuade people that he is educated and of more than average means. Language is a less odious way of impressing people with one's competence than an achievement test. Of the school curriculum, language learning contributes most to creating a symbol of social prominence, and is therefore the most likely to be sought after by the mobility-minded.

In reviewing the findings of this study, we emerge with a picture which is contrary in some respects to the foregoing anticipations. We find, for example, that among public-school pupils there appears to be little relationship between place of residence and attitudes toward English. There is no consistently positive relationship with socio-economic position or its components, parental education and occupation. To be sure, the higher the education of the father the more likely a pupil is to use English. But, in general, there is only a weak relationship between parental education, or socio-economic position, and attitudes toward English.

While residential and social class factors appear to have little bearing on attitudes toward English among pupils of the public schools, a number of these attitudes were related significantly to the pupil's orientation toward social mobility. For example, the more the youth expressed willingness to sacrifice present pleasures for future welfare, the higher were his grades in English. The more willing he was to sacrifice immediate pleasures, the greater was his affirmed desire to work at improving his knowledge of English after finishing school. And the pupils most willing to sacrifice for the future also expressed the strongest desire to read materials in English and to have the amount of English taught in schools increased.

That these relationships are in terms of educational aspirations is indicated by the positive association between willingness to sacrifice for the future and the level of schooling to which a pupil aspires, the degree to which he feels education is useful, and his overall feelings about the value of an education.

Although we do find some association between attitudes toward English and measures of mobility orientation (in addition to willingness to sacrifice for the future), the extent of relationship with these measures, although positive, is weaker. They too, however, appear to be tied to educational aspirations. These measures include emphasis on the importance of having money, on preferring a job better than one's father's, and the belief that people should work hard for self-betterment.

When responses to all of these measures are merged into a crude composite of "mobility mindedness" and then correlated with attitudes toward English and toward education, a number of significant relationships emerge. In general, the more mobility-minded pupils believe most firmly in the importance of English for becoming educated, have a greater desire to read materials in English, and would like to have more English taught in their school. They aspire also to a higher level of schooling and express a stronger belief in the value of a formal education.

Although attitudes toward English are not clearly differentiated by residence or social class, they are by mobility orientation. This result is surprising in view of our anticipation that relationships with mobility orientation would hold also for residence and social class. Actually, an orientation to mobility seems to have little to do with residence or socio-economic status but appears rather to permeate the whole population of ninth-grade public-school pupils with only modest regard to social background. When we compare those pupils who rate highest simultaneously in terms of living in a favored area, having a father with a relatively good education and occupation, having parents who speak at least some English, and who are themselves appreciably mobility-oriented against pupils who rate low on all of these factors, we find that the differences between the two groups with regard to attitudes toward English learning are not marked. This suggests that attitudes bearing on learning the second language are widely diffused through the population. While an orientation to mobility may lead to more favorable attitudes toward English, we cannot predict or select out from the population those who are most mobility-minded, let alone those with the most positive attitudes toward English, on the basis of where the child lives or his social class.

The divergence between what we anticipated and what we found may, however, be explained also by the kinds of questions to which the pupils responded. These questions may be interpreted as having elicited aspirations rather than expectations. For example, we did not ask "To what extent will you read newspapers and magazines in English when you get older?" but, instead, "Given the opportunity and sufficient knowledge of English, to what extent would you read newspapers and magazines in English?" The first formulation requires the pupil to divulge an estimate of what he will actually do. The second requests that he say what he may relish or think proper to do.

A study by Stephenson showed that, while plans or expectations of American ninth-grade pupils are based strongly on social class and therefore reflect class differences in opportunity and general life chances, aspirations are relatively unaffected by class and reflect the high goal orientation (in terms of social and occupational position) established by the culture. Thus, Stephenson concludes, whether or not class influences orientation to mobility may depend on whether one is considering the aspiration or expectation aspect of such orientation.[1] That Puerto Ricans, as North Americans, of all classes state that they have high goals and correspondingly high aspiration, even though expectations may be highly differentiated, has been documented by Tumin.[1] Generalizations made about how social class relates to aspirations and expectations of North American ninth-grade children may therefore apply also to Puerto Rican children.

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[1] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 204-12.

The belief that Stephenson's observations may apply also to Puerto Rican pupils, at least in terms of aspirational levels, tends to be supported by our finding that, although there is little association between educational aspiration and social class or place of residence, there is a relationship with mobility orientation. Thus, among public-school pupils, while aspirations to learn English may be diffused throughout the population and transcend lines of social class and residence, those who are most oriented to movement upward in the social hierarchy are most likely to have attitudes conducive to learning English. Moreover, among the factors used to measure mobility orientation, the one which relates most strongly to favorable attitudes toward English is willingness to sacrifice present gratification for future welfare.

In contradistinction to the lack of association between attitudes toward English and social class or residential environments, distinctions in home-language environment were found to be strongly related to attitudes. Among public-school pupils, those with a greater proportion of

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[1] Tumin, op. cit., pp. 104, 164-65, and passim.

English speaking siblings achieved higher grades in English, expressed a greater interest in English study, used English more extensively, expressed a stronger desire eventually to marry someone who ordinarily spoke English, expressed a greater liking for speaking English, and in general had more positive feelings about conversational aspects of the language. The more the parents spoke English in the home, especially with their children, the higher was the pupil's English achievement, the greater was his reported effort to learn English, the more extensively he used English, and the more favorable were his generalized attitudes toward English study and materials.

Among public-school pupils, girls tended to be more favorably inclined than boys toward English. They received better grades in English, were more likely to prefer English to other subjects, expressed a greater desire to have more English taught in school, felt more strongly about the necessity of knowing English for one to become wealthy, and more often believed that English could alter the present way of life in Puerto Rico. That positive attitudes toward English have little to do with feelings related to Americanization is indicated by the finding that boys more than girls tended to think of themselves as American citizens and to emphasize the importance of Puerto Rico becoming Americanized.

It is plausible that differences in attitudes between the sexes is due to a generally higher ability in language-type school subjects among girls. Higher-achieving pupils may be likely also to express more favorable attitudes toward the subjects in which they excel. Ability differentials, then, may account for attitudinal differentials between boys and girls.

When we turn to the differences in attitudes between public and parochial school pupils and between parents and children, findings are much in keeping with our expectations, especially as relates to public-parochial school differences. Parochial-school pupils display more positive attitudes toward learning English than their public-school counterparts. Catholic-school students reported spending more time studying English, had parents who strongly encouraged English study (as well as study in general), and used English more extensively. They seemed also to feel more strongly that English is important to them for doing well in school and that their own children should grow up speaking English. Catholic-school pupils showed more interest in their English class and in materials printed in English, and seemed to have a greater desire to learn and speak English. In addition, parochial students more frequently thought of themselves as American citizens and felt more favorably disposed toward Americans and American culture. As expected, the Catholic-school pupils also felt more favorably inclined toward formal education in general and reported a stronger belief in the importance of education for obtaining a good job.

Parochial-school pupils, coming from families where values are more likely to be in step with an emergent economic and social order, accordingly most clearly perceive English and education generally to be instruments of self-benefit. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Catholic-school students are generally more mobility-oriented; they are more willing to sacrifice present pleasures for future welfare and feel more strongly that there is no excuse for a person not to try to better himself. Being more mobility-conscious, the parochial student is more likely to search for instruments of change to further his aspirations, and English may represent one of the most important of such instruments.

Public-school pupils, on the other hand, indicated more positive attitudes in other respects. They expressed a greater desire to have the amount of English taught in their schools increased, even though parochial students indicated a stronger preference to have it used as the medium of instruction. It is striking that over half of the public-school students and over two-thirds of their parents expressed a need for more English than is at present offered. Public-school pupils, moreover, indicated a greater desire to improve their knowledge of English after finishing school. Apparently, while the desires of parochial-school pupils to learn English are being met, their public-school counterparts are not being taught enough English to satisfy them and therefore feel a greater need to go on learning English after completing school. That public-school pupils desire to learn more English than at present supports the conclusion that aspirations for English are widely diffused in the population. Seemingly, public schools are not providing sufficient experience in English, in amount or quality, to satisfy the broadly-based desires to acquire that language.

It is also noteworthy that, while public-school pupils have less positive feelings toward Americans and the American way of life, they appear to be more hospitably inclined toward an Americanization of Puerto Rico and the role they feel English may play in the process. That is to say that they favor more the possibility that Puerto Rico may become like the continental United States, economically if not culturally, but more than parochial-school children they feel, for example, that North Americans are less imaginative and have children with poorer manners than Puerto Ricans. This rather unexpected finding may indicate a deeply rooted ambivalence in values: a distaste for the American lack of personalismo and dignidad but a craving for the economic and social benefits associated with becoming American.

The responses of the parochial-school pupils, meanwhile, could be interpreted in two ways. First, coming from relatively high socio-economic strata, Catholic-school pupils are more likely to be sophisticated about the interplay of cultures as they are about the values of learning English. Likewise, they may be more aware of the persistent rivalry between American and Puerto Rican cultures and of the implications of learning English on the interplay of cultural forces. Having a greater awareness may lead to a stronger sense of cultural direction. Parochial-school pupils may feel less need to assert the importance of becoming more American if they feel more secure in their own self-image as Puerto Ricans. A stronger sense of cultural direction, moreover, would allow them to more confidently deny that learning English will make them less Latin or Puerto Rican.

A second interpretation has to do with a potential ambivalence in attitudes among parochial-school pupils. Although this interpretation ventures somewhat beyond the scope of our data, it is plausible that the parochial-school child, possessing a pronounced enthusiasm for learning English and identifying strongly with the values symbolized by the language, is anxious lest learning the second language may alter his Latin character. Thus, to counter an unwanted development, Americanization, which he may feel he is promoting by learning English, he affirms his loyalty to Puerto Rican society by disparaging the importance of having his country become like another. By the same token, he may be suppressing the thought that he is destroying his own ethnic character when he denies that learning English will make him less Latin or Puerto Rican. In short, it is plausible that, relative to his public-school peer, the Catholic-school pupil may feel threatened by his own eagerness to acquire English.

The differences between the responses of children from the two types of schools lead us to some related questions. Are the differential reactions between pupils of the public and parochial schools ultimately a matter of social class? Could the absence of class-based attitudes in the public schools be due to a scarcity there of pupils belonging to classes high in the social hierarchy? Could a homogeneity of attitudes be the result of the upper and upper-middle classes having been largely siphoned out of the public schools by their recruitment into the private schools?

The results of pooling the two sets of responses, public and parochial, indicate that is not the case. When we combine the responses of Catholic-school pupils (these pupils being relatively high on the social ladder) with the responses of public school pupils, we find no significant relationship between social class and attitudes toward English. These findings support the conclusion that the most significant differences between pupils are along lines of mobility orientation rather than social class. In addition, it appears that Catholic-school pupils are more mobility-oriented and their attitudes are differentiated from their less mobility-minded public-school peers in much the same way as are those of the more mobility-oriented pupils within the public schools. Thus, it is suggested that mobility orientation, comparatively independently of social class, is a vital factor in determining attitudes toward English.

With respect to intergenerational differences, we find that children, as anticipated, perceive more clearly than their parents the values of English. It is significant that children in both types of schools place greater emphasis on English for getting by in school than parents say they did when they were in school--even though most parents attended school at a time when English was being used as a medium of instruction for nonlanguage subjects. This would seem to suggest that, although English was more pervasive in the schools a generation ago, it was of a less demanding quality.

An interesting disparity was found in intergenerational responses concerning education. While present day pupils desire more schooling than did their parents, they place less value on the importance of education in getting a job. The higher aspirations of pupils today could be explained by the fact that opportunities for educational advancement have become more available and that schooling has become much more accepted. The stronger belief among parents in the importance of an education for getting a job may result from parents being in greater proximity to the job market than their children. The greater the proximity, the greater is the likelihood of being aware of basic factors in securing and maintaining employment.

As is likely in a study of this nature, more questions are raised than answered. One reason is that instead of interpreting the results largely on the basis of how value systems affect attitudes toward English, plausible alternative explanations for our findings were sought. We did not conclude, for example, that the lack of association of social class or residence with attitudes toward English is due to the pervasiveness of values which emphasize the individual's dignidad, feelings of inner worth irrespective of one's station in life. Nor did we interpret the relationship among public-school students between mobility orientation and attitudes as being the result of certain individuals, regardless of social class or residence, possessing values commensurate with an emergent social and economic order. Instead, we proposed that in the distinction between aspiration and expectation may lie one key to the findings; that while our schedules may have been geared more to ascertaining the aspirational factor in attitudes, social class and residential differentials may apply more to actual life chances, to expectations. But such an interpretation would shed some, but relatively little specific light on the problem of how traditional and emergent value systems interact to affect attitudes. We have found that aspirations appear to be broadly diffused in the population, but we should want to know to what extent these aspirations are due to a strong acceptance of emergent values.

In the case of home-language environment also we find that we have gained limited knowledge about the effect of value orientation on attitudes. We naturally expected to find that children with English-speaking parents and siblings have more favorable attitudes toward that language. But although we found that linguistic environment is affected by social class, it was also suggested that language environment works rather independently of class in its relationship to attitudes. Moreover, linguistic environment had little relation to such factors as mobility-mindedness and educational aspiration, factors which are likely to reveal the existence of emergent-type values. We are still left ultimately with the question of why certain homes provide a more favorable linguistic climate.

We do little better in determining the influence of values on responses of boys and girls. Attitude differences were interpreted not necessarily in terms of girls being less affected than boys by traditional values, but by their penchant for language-type activities. We are, therefore, still not very cognizant of the part values play in shaping attitudes. Why do girls have somewhat more positive attitudes toward English learning and education, which are representative of emergent values, while boys react more favorably to the possibility of Puerto Rico becoming more "Americanized," which may also be indicative of emergent values?

It is only when we come to public-parochial school differentials that we appear to be on somewhat firmer ground concerning the question of values, and here the pattern follows our expectations. Parochial-school pupils not only possess attitudes most conducive to second-language learning; they also take a more positive stand toward education, mobility, and Americans and their way of life. They appear, in short, to be more in step with the new order relative to their public-school peers, and to regard English as a valuable means for finding a good position in that order. Only with respect to attitudes toward Americanization do we find results which were unanticipated. In this case, the more favorable attitudes on the part of public-school students may be interpreted as a sign of ambivalence, the result of a significant confluence of two value systems, both of which seem to operate strongly within the same ambience. Or, these attitudes may indicate that parochial-school children have a greater need to affirm their ethnic character because of their stronger penchant for learning things "foreign," because they seek devices for self-improvement outside of their own traditional order.

To a lesser extent, intergenerational differentials followed the pattern anticipated. Children expected to have values more in step with a new social order did indeed indicate more positive attitudes toward English and appeared to have somewhat higher educational aspirations than their parents, but the differences, though significant, were not substantial.

In sum, it is clear that we have only touched on the problem of how values affect attitudes in learning a second language. Many questions left unanswered are worthy of investigation. Even in the case of public-parochial school distinctions, we should want to know more about the specific interrelationships between values and attitudes. And, many subtleties of social class influences on learning English still elude us.

It is suggested that two questions are particularly in need of further study. First, what is the association between expectations of pupils, in contrast to aspirations, and their attitudes with regard to learning English? Undoubtedly, social class and residence relate more strongly to life chances than to life goals. Second, do students change their attitudes as they move through school so that relationships which were anticipated but not borne out in this study would become evident in the upper-secondary schools? It can be argued that, while at the ninth-grade level expectations and aspirations of public-school pupils are likely to be divergent, they may converge at the upper levels, when life goals are adjusted to more realistic expectations.

A discrepancy between expectation and aspiration, even at the ninth-grade level, may have an important bearing on a policy of English instruction in the public schools. Aspirations which have little chance of being fulfilled in effect constitute demands for increased opportunities concomitant with augmented goals, demands which are always legitimate in a democratic society. The nature of these demands are such that they appear to be widely diffused in the population, not restricted to any one social class or area. Ironically, stronger demands for increased opportunities place a heavy burden on the Commonwealth government which encourages them. Operation Bootstrap has been an attempt to achieve industrial development in a very short time for the economic well-being of the society. It was inevitable that it should lead also to increased aspirations. The government assumes responsibility to furnish appropriate machinery for the fulfillment of these aspirations. The creation of new jobs is not a sufficient provision. Since the demands for opportunities are diffused, it is incumbent upon the government to find means whereby all sectors of the society are provided with means for competing on an equal footing for these jobs.

Ideally, the government's major responsibility is in making available an education which is adequate to the demands of all those who may wish to move upward on the social and economic ladder. Providing an education suitable to the demands of those who wish to improve themselves constitutes an attempt to raise expectations in the direction of aspirations. We have noted how vital a demand English represents. We have also been made aware by the findings that the extent to which English is being taught in the public schools does not satisfy the demands for it. To satisfy these demands, however, would place the Commonwealth government in a difficult position. For many years official school policies had been criticized as being incompatible with the needs of most sectors of the society, especially the "undeveloped agricultural population." The school program, so the argument went, with its emphasis on books and conventional classroom procedure, catered to the potential white-collar worker, and therefore militated against the educational requirements of a majority of Puerto Ricans.[1]

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[1] Three places in which the argument can be found in one form or another are the following: Thomas E. Benner, "American Difficulties in Porto Rico," Foreign Affairs, VIII, No. 4 (July, 1930), 610-11; Mejias, op. cit., p. 182; and Cebollero, A School Language Policy for Puerto Rico, pp. 77-115. The latter argues that English instruction should be differentially based according to needs.

This argument no doubt continues to have some validity in Puerto Rico, as it does perhaps in most developing countries.[1] Heeding its criticism as respects English would mean that instruction in the second language should be minimized in the less industrialized areas and where most students are low on the socio-economic ladder. Such a policy would be ostensibly sensible--it would mean eliminating instruction which is not advantageous to most of those persons subjected to it and substituting instruction that would be more pragmatic and immediately beneficial.

The findings of this study, however, suggest the danger of instituting such a policy. Undoubtedly, many if not most youngsters in the disadvantaged sectors will use or need English to only a moderate extent. But the belief that English represents a stepping stone to better things pervades their environment as it does the environment of the more privileged classes. Hence, to deny the disadvantaged the opportunity to learn English, and perhaps worse yet, to provide them with inferior second-language instruction leading to a competitive disadvantage, is in effect depriving them of their legitimate rights to a better life, rights the demand for which the government itself inspires.

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[1] For an excellent exposition of the dilemma faced by many emerging nations of how best to patronize the humble sectors of society, see Howard Becker, "School and Systems of Stratification," _Education, Economy, and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education_, ed. A. H. Halsey, Jean Floud, and C. Arnold Anderson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), pp. 94-97.

Had the government the financial resources to furnish quality education for all sectors of the society, its position would be more enviable. But so grave is the shortage of funds that the government is loath even to enforce the compulsory education law, fearing an even more severe lack of facilities than that presently being experienced.[1] To improve English-language instruction in those schools which most demand it would necessitate a serious curtailment of facilities in other curricular areas, as well as contribute to a considerable wastage of resources (at least in the short run) as a result of the many students in such schools who would never take advantage of the improved English instruction afforded them. On the other hand, not to improve such facilities relative to the private schools or schools in more advantaged areas may lead to seriously frustrated demands; as the social structure continues to be broadened (with the inspiration of the government), the increase in the gap between expectation and aspiration may become intolerable.

Two steps might alleviate the government's dilemma. The first is based on the belief, posited by Nieves-Falcón, that factors preventing the lower classes from reaching higher levels of schooling are economic in nature rather than motivational.

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[1] See Nieves-Falcón, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Also see Rodríguez Bou, *op. cit.*, I, 555 and 917-20.

> Their economic inability is so great and their view of life so circumscribed by low income that they cannot apparently rise to that conception of ampler education for their children, even where there is the will, the desire to do so.[1]

What Puerto Rican children need most with regard to learning the second language, especially among the disadvantaged, are experiences with English outside the formal classroom situation. What they need, in other words, is the chance to use English naturally and informally. It is proposed, therefore, that a determined effort be made to bring simplified, appropriate material in English into homes where the child as well as the parent will be exposed to the language. By appropriate materials is meant those suitable to the age and ability level of the child and his parents and those having maximum interest value, even if this means introducing American comic books. The effort could take the form of an outright donation of materials by the government or, at the least, a subsidy for most of the costs.

Our findings demonstrate that this step may be crucial in two respects: it would give the child the chance to read the heretofore scarce materials which are required if he is to build a knowledge of English sufficient for practical use later on. It should be remembered that a majority of public school ninth-graders responded that they would often read materials in English had they the opportunity to do so. It would also increase the second-language potential of the home environment.

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[1] Nieves-Falcón, op. cit., pp. 115-19.

The second step would require no basic change in the allocation of financial resources. It is directed primarily at examining some traditional assumptions which may be operating to inhibit initiative on the part of the English teacher. In a study of teachers directed by Rodríguez Bou, it was shown that of the 58 per cent of the public school teachers who indicated plans to leave their positions, 40 per cent gave as a reason that they were not consulted concerning changes in school policy.[1] In another survey, 55 per cent of all teachers sampled felt that school authorities made excessive demands on them (as opposed to 2 per cent in the private schools).[2] Specifically with regard to English teachers in the intermediate schools, it was observed that established objectives appeared to be regimented for almost all classes and that teachers tended to follow to the letter each unit of the Teacher's Manual--the outcome being that students were provided with little real stimulation to learn English. When given the chance to express themselves, nearly 40 per cent of the English teachers sampled said they were dissatisfied with school policy primarily because all the procedures and techniques which they were to employ were already prescribed, and they were given little opportunity to display their initiative and regrettably little time to attend to the individual needs of their pupils.[1]

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[1] Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 794-97 and 820.

[2] Ibid., pp. 808-809.

The criticisms inherent in this discussion were confirmed for the most part by the personal observations of this writer. It was not untypical to find, for example, that a lesson from the textbook which was being taught one day in one part of Puerto Rico was followed by the next lesson the next day in a school located in a very different part of the Island. Although there were notable exceptions, pupils were for the most part put to work on memorizing linguistic patterns rather than becoming accustomed to normal dialogue.

Perhaps two reasons can account for the harness placed on English teachers. The first is a cleavage which has grown over a period of many years between research scholars and theorists and "practitioners," between the teachers and the policy makers, in the field of language arts. This breach is not restricted to Puerto Rico; it is probably just as applicable to other areas in the United States. For our purposes, the important point is that while the theorists hold that language is learned best through use in naturally encountered and unstructured situations, the policy makers assume that structure, both with regard to the language and the situation in which it is taught, is all-important. They believe generally that, since the language of a people should be uniform, "verbal knowledge about the structure of language is indispensable to one's learning to use the language."[1] It should not be difficult to see how adopting this last assumption can lead to a policy in which once the "proper" structure of English is agreed upon, it is taught in the manner which is least tolerant of variation. That The Fries American English Series, originally designed for Puerto Rican English classes thirteen years ago, is still being used extensively without revision is testimony to the existence of such a policy in Puerto Rico.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 1267-68 and 1275.

The second reason has to do with the fear which stems from laboring for many years with inadequate facilities and improper training of teachers. There is doubtless a risk attached to giving an incompetent teacher a free hand in the classroom. When having no choice but to employ unqualified persons in teaching positions, one way to avoid disastrous results is to prescribe all the procedures in instruction. Thus, requiring that instruction in English classes be presented in a completely structured manner is a means of mitigating the effects of bad teaching.

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[1] Robert G. Carlson, "Conflicting Assumptions in the Teaching of English," The English Journal, XLIX (September, 1960), 377-80.

[2] See Adrian Hull, "The 'English Problem,'" San Juan Review, II, No. 5 (June, 1965), 31.

It seems clear that English teachers in Puerto Rico are assumed to be less than qualified.[1] Out of fear of unleashing incompetents in the schools, potential creativity of all is denied. The teacher's initiative is checked and he feels neglected by the authorities. This, of course, makes for a vicious circle: the lack of initiative indicates incompetence which in turn reinforces the original policy of stripping the teacher of his initiative.

The second step recommended to alleviate the government's position, therefore, is to rely less on the so-called Fries method and allow the teachers to introduce their own. This may produce some unwanted results in the beginning, but it may be the only way to achieve effective and stimulating instruction in the long run. Such a change of policy should be accompanied by a reorientation of teacher training and of supervisory methods toward encouraging teachers to experiment with materials of their own

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[1] See Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 696. Also see Eliseo Combas Guerra, "En Torno a la Fortaleza," El Mundo, July 18, 1962, p. 6.

choosing. They should be encouraged also to adapt their methods to the special environments and requirements of their students. In other words, a flexible rather than an intractible policy should be instituted. This should have the effect of improving English instruction in the public schools in general, which in turn should contribute to an equalization of the quality of such instruction among segments of the society, while at the same time allowing for the needs of even the most disparate groups to be served.

We shall end this study with one final observation. The study of language, especially second-language learning, is a complex activity. Language can be studied internally in terms of content and structure, phonetically or phonemically. Or, it can be studied in terms of the larger context--of its role as an agent in acculturation and its interrelationship with social change. In Puerto Rico, the obvious lack of success of a program of English instruction has made paramount this last dimension. As one school official recently put it,

> In short, the "English problem" in Puerto Rico is not just a problem of the public schools. The public itself contributes positively or negatively to the classroom situation. Outside attitudes should therefore also be the subject of study in any investigation of the causes for poor performance of pupils in English classes.[1]

It is precisely this dimension which has been most neglected.

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[1] Hull, op. cit., p. 58.

It is hoped and anticipated that this investigation will contribute to an interest in the phase of language study most closely related to the study of social behavior.

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APPENDIX A

PROCEDURES

The samples

The population with which we are most concerned is that of Puerto Rican ninth-grade pupils in public and parochial schools. Ninth grade was chosen because it is the last grade before the drop-out rate becomes high, especially in the rural areas.[1] In this grade, also, the questionnaire would be comprehensible to the vast majority of pupils. It was feared that the selection of a lower grade would have meant the inclusion of an undesirably large proportion of students who would have difficulty in coping with the questionnaire (though the questions were in Spanish), while choosing a population of older students would have eliminated many of those at lower socio-economic levels and in the rural areas, especially since the compulsory school age is 14. The study considered also the population of parents of ninth-grade pupils.

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[1] There are practically no senior high schools (grades 10-12) in the rural areas, making it most difficult for children in these areas to continue beyond the ninth grade. See Puerto Rico, Report on Enrollment and Personnel at the End of the Sixth School Month, Department of Education, 1963-64, p. 45. Also see Puerto Rico, Report of the Secretary of Education, Department of Education, 1960-61.

The procedure used for obtaining a sample of the ninth-grade, public-school population was "multi-stage," or cluster sampling.[1] All public schools on the Island having ninth-grade classrooms were separated into three geographical strata--the San Juan metropolitan area, other urban areas (having over 2,500 inhabitants), and rural areas. Ten thousand thirty-seven pupils fell within the latter stratum, while 26,395 pupils were divided fairly evenly among the San Juan metropolitan and other urban areas.[2] A random sample of 7 intermediate schools (those containing the ninth grade) was then selected from each so that 21 public schools participated. One classroom was then selected at random from each of the 21 schools.[3] These 21 classes contained a total of 703 students.

As for obtaining a sample of ninth-grade private-school students, because of the difficulty imposed by the various types of private schools (many of which act as almost completely independent systems), only the Roman

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[1] For a description and evaluation of this technique, see Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), pp. 533-34.

[2] Puerto Rico, Report on Enrollment . . ..

[3] Admittedly, a more representative sample would have been obtained by means of a selection from the population of ninth-grade classrooms rather than from schools having the ninth grade. However, this was impossible because a listing of such classrooms in general or by school did not exist, thus necessitating choosing the school prior to finding out the number of ninth-grade classes it contained.

Catholic among the private schools were chosen to participate in the survey. The drawback in this choice is clear. The Protestant and lay schools operate under very distinct philosophies, and the education they provide may have an effect different from that of the parochial schools. Nevertheless, the Catholic schools constitute about 52 per cent of all private schools, tend to select students from the same sectors of the population, and are generally believed to provide the same kind of high quality instruction, including English instruction, as do the other private schools.[1] For these reasons, although a sampling of Catholic schools cannot be considered as wholly representative, the findings should yield results suggestive for all private schools.

Since there is, for all practical purposes, an absence of parochial ninth grades in the rural areas, the Catholic schools were placed into two strata: (1) the San Juan metropolitan area and (2) other urban areas. A random sample of six schools having the ninth grade was taken; from each, one ninth-grade class was selected randomly.[2] The sample of parochial schools drew 196 pupils from a total Catholic-school ninth-grade student population of 3,804,[3] bringing the combined student samples to 899.

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[1] See Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., II, 1860-61 and passim.

[2] Whereas the public schools work under a 6-3-3 plan, most Catholic schools have adopted an 8-4 system.

[3] Puerto Rico, Report on Enrollment . . . , p. 60.

The parent sample was assembled from the sample of students. Every other student brought home a questionnaire for the head of the household to answer. This last sample yielded a total of 404 parents, or a return of 92 per cent for the public schools and 83 per cent for the parochial.

The schedules

A wide range of dependent variables were used to measure motivation and generalized attitudes toward the learning of English. Some of the variables provided a broad scope of indicators for estimating social structural, environmental, and residential influences on motivation to learn English, while others allowed us to observe differential positive or negative values associated with the language.

Among the instruments used in establishing attitudinal and motivational characteristics, a substantial number were borrowed and adapted from Lambert *et al*.[1] Part 2 of the student questionnaire (Appendix B) is an attempt to measure the extent to which instrumental, or utilitarian, aspects of English are considered important. The concern here was in ascertaining if pupils view English as valuable in gaining specific ends, such as obtaining a good job or getting by in school.

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[1] W. E. Lambert, R. C. Gardner, R. Olton, and R. Tunstall, *A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1961). This study concentrates on attitudes toward learning French of American and Franco-American students in Louisiana, Maine, and Connecticut.

Part 4 attempts to determine how American culture and values are viewed relative to Puerto Rican. Pupils were asked, for example, to rate North Americans on how imaginative they are, compared to Puerto Ricans, and on how well-mannered their children are in contrast to Puerto Rican children.

Parts 5 and 6 measure the intensity of motivation and desire to learn English. Desire for English is distinguishable from motivation in that the former implies more of a preference for or interest in the language in contrast to effort expended in learning it. Motivational intensity is defined in terms of work done for assignments, future intentions to study and make use of the language, amount of practice given to the language, and importance attributed to a knowledge of the language.

Parental encouragement to learn English and to have a general diligence in study are measured in Part 7. Part 8 is an attempt to determine the extent to which the student employs his knowledge of English.

In Part 11 identification with Americans and their language is measured. This last part constituted an attempt to ascertain the degree to which pupils think of themselves as Americans and associate themselves with people who speak English.

In Lambert's study, composite indices of the dimensions enumerated above were correlated. As we might expect, motivational intensity and desire to learn the second language were most closely associated. The study was replicated a number of times, with correlations between these variables of .46, .58, .54, .57, and .69. The correlations displayed a close association, but, except perhaps for the last, did not suggest that motivational intensity and desire to learn the second language should be treated as one dimension. Correlations among the other dimensions were considerably lower.[1]

Lambert's data pertain to a different second language and to different samples than the present study. However, Lambert's dimensions were in large part devised and tested in a number of previous studies in which disparate samples and second languages were investigated.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 25, 40, 52, 77, and 90.

[2] These studies are reported in R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, "Motivational Variables in Second-Language Acquisition," Canadian Journal of Psychology, XIII (1959), 266-72; W. R. Jones, "Attitude towards Welsh as a Second Language," British Journal of Educational Psychology, XX (1950), 117-32; M. Anisfeld and W. E. Lambert, "Social and Psychological Variables in Learning Hebrew," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXIII (1961), 524-29; and W. E. Lambert et al., "Attitudinal and Cognitive Aspects of Intensive Study of a Second Language," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXVI (1963), 358-68. See Lambert, A Study of the Roles . . . , op. cit., pp. 2-6.

These studies suggested some of the factors that may account for achievement in and attitudes toward second languages. In so far as the dimensions considered by Lambert were studied under different conditions and were found to bear upon second-language learning, they should be applicable also to a study of attitudes toward English among Puerto Rican ninth-graders.

In addition to the questions adapted from those used in the study by Lambert *et al.*, others were created to determine the desire to be educated (Part 12) and degree of social and economic "mobility-mindedness" (Part 13). This last is directed at ascertaining an orientation to job mobility, hard work for self-improvement, a willingness to sacrifice immediate pleasures for future gratification, and a desire for money. The symbolic nature of English was also assessed, especially as it is perceived to relate to political and economic strength (Part 14) and "high culture" (Part 15).

Finally, an attempt was made to ascertain pupils' reactions to culture change and the role of English in change (Part 16). Pupils were given the opportunity, for instance, to indicate their reactions to a potential "Americanization" of Puerto Rico and the extent of influence they felt English may have in making Puerto Rico more like the United States.

In a number of cases, the average response of the pupil to the set of questions contained in a particular "Part" of the questionnaire was used as a composite index of his reaction to that Part.[1] Generally, the variables dealing with attitudes toward English can be separated into two classes, which we may roughly term utilitarian (or functional) and affective. The former denotes attitudes bearing on topics which affect the individual, while the latter refers to feelings about the language where these feelings concern matters which do not affect the individual directly, but, for example, his community or nation. The latter also may refer to feelings about the people of whom or culture of which English is a representation.

The independent variables were derived mainly from questions associated with residence, education, occupation, and language environment. These are to be found in Part 1. Questions in Part 12, having to do with degree of mobility orientation, were also treated as independent attributes. Aside from data obtained from the questionnaire, each pupil's grade in English was recorded. The child's English grade is no doubt subject to the whims and personal standards of the teacher, but it proved to be the most available instrument in the absence of standardized English tests.

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[1] For example, if the pupil responded to the four questions in Part 2 by checking b, a, b, and c, his average response to the questions would be b. Correlations between composite scores and their components are found in Appendix D.

One of the major factors with which we are concerned is residence. As noted in Chapter II, the rural population, having a different economic basis with accompanying differences in social organization, may be less oriented to values commensurate with change than the urban population. Moreover, it may be that in Puerto Rico the greater the economic distance from the major industrial and commercial center, San Juan, the greater is the divergence in values to which the people are committed. Consequently, rural residents may hold values which are less distant from those held by persons from urban centers (other than San Juan) than from citizens of that principal city. Thus, residence for our purposes was separated among these three types of areas. The schedule itself attempts to determine residence of the youth at the time he was born and that of his parents at the time they were born, but the criterion of present residence was the location of the school.

An independent variable which may be of broad significance in shaping attitudes toward learning English is parental education. The great importance of education in the emerging social order in Puerto Rico has been suggested by Tumin who used it as the basic indicator of stratification.[1] Tumin revealed that the most educated are the most likely to encourage education in their children.

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[1] See Tumin, op. cit., pp. 5, 6, and 31.

For our purposes, then, parental education is a factor which may have important bearing on student attitudes, and was therefore included in the schedule. The primary concern was with the father's education; since he is the breadwinner, it is his education which is most likely to contribute to the family's security and welfare. The mother's education was also considered and combined with her husband's, since it has been shown that, for example, her schooling is distinctly related to the likelihood of school desertion of her children.[1] In the schedule, parent education was divided into five categories: (1) no schooling; (2) elementary school, i.e., grades 1 through 6; (3) intermediate school, i.e., grades 7 through 9; (4) high school, i.e., grades 10 through 12; and (5) college. These categories are separated by the points of articulation in the public school system, thus representing clearly defined junctures to which most children could relate when answering questions about the education of their parents. They are also likely to correspond to the greatest social and economic differences between groups of parents, because each represents a definitive advance in educational level, at least with regard to those parents who had matriculated in the public system.

Occupation of head of the household, another important independent variable, was categorized broadly. This was necessary because of the difficulty in obtaining precise information from children about their fathers' occupations; many children were found to have but the vaguest notion of what kind of work their fathers did. The categories in this study were influenced by those used by Tumin[1] and those devised by Hollingshead for a study which he and Rogler carried out in Puerto Rico.[2] The categories are as follows: (1) professionals, semi-professionals, and prominent merchants and industrialists; (2) owners and managers of medium-sized establishments and white-collar salesmen; (3) clerks, skilled and semi-skilled industrial workers, and owners of farms and local, small-scale businesses; (4) unskilled industrial workers, service workers, domestics, and agricultural day laborers; and (5) unemployed. In the case of occupation, father's (mother's or guardian's in cases where a father was not head of the household) were categorized on the basis of an open-ended response rather than from a check list of alternatives.

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[1] See Rodríguez Bou, op. cit., I, 921.

A two-factor index of socio-economic position was used as an additional estimate of social status. This method, formulated by Hollingshead, assigns a weight of 7 to occupation and 4 to education, and has the effect of favoring occupation as the basis of status when occupation and education rankings diverge. This two-factor index was used in the study by Hollingshead and Rogler mentioned above. In order to make the index fit closely with other variables, all of which were formulated in categorical rather than continuous terms, the index rankings were placed in five categories inclusive of the entire socio-economic gamut.

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[1] Tumin, op. cit., pp. 322-24.

[2] Lloyd H. Rogler and August B. Hollingshead, "La Clase Social y el Lenguaje Desarticulado en los Enfermos Mentales," Revista de Ciencias Sociales, V, No. 2 (December, 1961), 515-28.

Finally, an effort was made to ascertain language environment. To obtain data on exposure to English, the pupil was asked questions related to the number of siblings in the family who could speak English, and the frequency with which parents spoke the language in the home.

The schedule for parents (see Appendix C) was a shortened and somewhat modified version of that given to the child. Being ever mindful that parents do not constitute a "captive" audience, the schedule had to be fashioned so that the questions could be answered conveniently and in a short period of time. Since we are concerned with intergenerational differences, certain of the questions were directed at the attitudes parents held when they were of about ninth-grade age. Among the questions used were those having to do with the utilitarian aspects of English, the culture and values of Americans, desire to learn English, identity with Americans and their language, desire to be educated, and the potential threat to Hispanic culture from English.

In order to keep biased reactions to a minimum, the pupils were informed both in the schedule and by the teacher that their responses would in no way endanger their grades or affect their permanent record. They were allotted a reasonably long period of time for finishing the instrument and were instructed to answer the questions as frankly and precisely as possible. They were told that there were no right or wrong answers and to answer every question. Where alternatives were provided, as they were in most cases, only one was to be selected. Similar instructions were attached to the parent questionnaire, and, in the case of an illiterate parent, the child was allowed to read the instructions and help his parent answer the questions, providing, of course, he did not answer for the parent. Certain questions, however, were geared to parents who went to school, and for these questions illiterates were instructed not to answer.

All questions and instructions were in Spanish. In addition, wherever feasible only the teacher was permitted to give out instructions and distribute the schedules. This was felt necessary so as not to give the impression that "un americano" was evaluating reactions to American language and culture. The teacher, prior to the distribution of questionnaires, was given detailed information about the schedule and instructions to allay whatever fears the children may have in answering questions. He was also instructed on how to distribute the parent schedules in a systematic manner.

The instruments were pre-tested in one ninth-grade classroom in each of two schools; one school was located in a mixed lower and middle class urban area and the other in a rural area. After the pupils completed the questionnaire, several were interviewed. The latter were asked if they understood all instructions and questions and to identify those items that were unclear. They were requested to state why they responded in the manner they did and how they interpreted the meaning of each question. In addition, every other pupil was given a questionnaire to be taken home to the head of the household. Several of these pupils were interviewed as to difficulties parents may have had in answering the questions. Student and parent questionnaires in the pre-test were examined carefully to ascertain discrepancies or unusual responses.

The results of the pre-test were some major revisions and deletions of a very few questions and minor modifications in a number of others and in the instructions, but not a major revision of either student or parent questionnaires. The instruments were also examined by advisors in Puerto Rico and modified accordingly.

APPENDIX B

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE STUDENT SCHEDULE

The questions contained in the following pages will not affect your grades in any way. This is not an exam and will not be recorded in your permanent file. You are asked to answer the questions freely, but with frankness and as exactly as possible. You should remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Answer each question. Where you have a choice of answers, mark only one alternative--the one that best corresponds to your current thoughts or situation.

Number ____________________

Name ____________________

Sex ____________________

Number ____________________

School ____________________

Part 1

1. Indicate the barrio (or the city) and the country where you were born (example: Río Piedras, Puerto Rico):

____

2. Indicate the barrio (or the city) and the country of birth of your father: ______________________________

your mother: ______________________________

3. Have you ever been to the United States? __________

If your answer is yes, place a check mark (✓) before the letter which best indicates the length of time you spent there.

___ a. less than six months
___ b. between six months and a year
___ c. from one to two years
___ d. from two to four years
___ e. more than four years

4. How many brothers and sisters above the age of three years do you have? _____ Indicate with a check mark (✓) how many of them can speak English and do so at least occasionally.

___ a. none
___ b. one
___ c. two
___ d. three
___ e. more than three

5. Indicate with a check mark (✓) the frequency with which your father and/or your mother speak in English:

___ a. Mother or father or both converse at times in English, but not with their children.

___ b. Mother and father never speak in English either to each other or with others.

___ c. Mother or father or both use English most or all the time.

___ d. Mother or father or both converse occasionally in English, and at times do so with their children.

___ e. Mother or father or both converse at times in English, especially with their children.

6. What is the highest level of education attained by your father? Place a check mark in the space before the letter that indicates the level that he reached.
   ___ a. He did not go to school.
   ___ b. He attended elementary school (grades 1 to 6).
   ___ c. He attended junior high school (grades 7 to 9).
   ___ d. He attended high school (grades 10 to 12).
   ___ e. He went to college. (If this alternative is checked, indicate where he went: ________________________)

7. What is the highest level of education attained by your mother? Place a check mark in the space before the letter that indicates the level that she reached.
   ___ a. She did not go to school.
   ___ b. She attended elementary school (grades 1 to 6).
   ___ c. She attended junior high school (grades 7 to 9).
   ___ d. She attended high school (grades 10 to 12).
   ___ e. She went to college. (If this alternative is checked, indicate where she went: ______________)

8. What is the present occupation of your father? Carefully explain the kind of work that he does. If he is dead, indicate the kind of work that he did: ________________

9. For whom does he work?
   ___ a. for himself
   ___ b. for the government
   ___ c. for someone else

10. What is the present occupation of your mother? Carefully explain the kind of work that she does. If she is dead, indicate the kind of work that she did: ______________

11. If she is not a housewife, for whom does she work?
    ___ a. for herself or for your father as an assistant
    ___ b. for the government
    ___ c. for someone else

12. Does your family plan to move? _______ If the answer is yes:
    When? __________ To where? ________________________

Part 2

Instructions. You are given a number of scales in which you are to place a check mark (√) in the blank which you feel most appropriately describes your reasons for studying English.

In each scale there are five blanks. They are marked a., b., c., d., and e. Letters a. and e. represent the two extremes in opinions. For example, if you mark e. √ in any of the scales, you are in effect saying that you believe the sentence to be definitely incorrect. On the other hand, b. and d. do not represent such extremes. If you mark b. √, you are saying that you think that the statement is correct, but you do not feel this strongly. Marking c. √ would mean that you do not believe the statement to be necessarily true or false.

1. I think that knowing English will some day be useful for getting a good job.

   Very true a. ___ b. ___ c. ___ d. ___ e. ___ Not true

2. I think that he who knows English fluently is respected by his companions.

   Very true a. ___ b. ___ c. ___ d. ___ e. ___ Not true

3. I think that no one is really educated unless he is fluent in the English language.

   Very true a. ___ b. ___ c. ___ d. ___ e. ___ Not true

4. I need English to get by in school.

Very true a. ___ b. ___ c. ___ d. ___ e. ___ Not true

Part 3

Instructions. Assume that the following statements are opinions that have been at times expressed by students in Puerto Rico and the United States. They cover a variety of topics and many will probably agree and others disagree with the statements. There are no correct or incorrect responses. You are asked to mark each statement in the space provided to the left, according to whether or not you agree or disagree, as follows.

_++_ I strongly agree
_+_ I agree
_0_ I neither agree nor disagree
_-_ I disagree
_--_ I strongly disagree

Example

_+_ Children should participate in community activities.

___ 1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues that children should learn.

___ 2. The thing that you need most is strict discipline, firm determination, and the will to work and sacrifice for family and country.

___ 3. No weakness or difficulty can set us Puerto Ricans back if we have enough strength of will.

___ 4. Human nature being what it is, there will always be struggle and conflict.

___ 5. A person with bad manners, bad habits, and poor upbringing can expect difficulty in associating with decent people.

___ 6. People can be classified into two distinct types: the weak and the strong.

___ 7. There is nothing lower than a person who does not feel great affection, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

___ 8. The true Puerto Rican way of life is disappearing so rapidly that immediate action must be taken to preserve it.

___ 9. Nowadays, more and more people are becoming interested in matters that should remain personal and private.

___ 10. If people spoke less and worked more, everyone would be better off.

Part 4

The same instructions apply as for Part 3.

___ 1. Compared to people of the United States, Puerto Ricans are more sincere and honest.

___ 2. Family life is more important to Puerto Ricans than to people of the United States.

___ 3. Compared to Puerto Ricans, Americans are people without imagination.

___ 4. Puerto Ricans appreciate and understand art better than most people from the United States.

___ 5. Puerto Rican children have better manners than American children.

___ 6. The people of the United States would benefit greatly if they adopted many aspects of Puerto Rican culture.

___ 7. The American way of life seems crude when compared to ours.

Part 5

Instructions. Answer the following questions by placing a check mark (✓) to the left of the statement which seems to you most appropriate. Your questionnaire will not be reviewed by your teacher or by the school administrators. You are requested to be as exact as possible.

Example

I would like some day to be:

___ a. a baseball player

___ b. a lawyer

___ c. a doctor

_✓_ d. a salesman

___ e. an actor

2. Outside of school, I think about the words and ideas that I learn in my English class:
   ___ a. from time to time.
   ___ b. never.
   ___ c. frequently.
   ___ d. most of the time.
   ___ e. almost never.

3. If English were not taught in this school, I would probably:
   ___ a. not bother to learn it.
   ___ b. wait to learn it naturally sometime in the future.
   ___ c. try to take English lessons some place else.
   ___ d. make an attempt to learn it in everyday situations (for example: reading books and magazines in English and trying to speak it whenever possible).
   ___ e. go to the United States to learn it.

4. On the average I spend more or less the following amount of time studying English at home:
   ___ a. two hours per week
   ___ b. less than one hour per week
   ___ c. six hours per week
   ___ d. more than six hours per week
   ___ e. four hours per week

5. Considering how I do in my English studies, I can honestly say that:
   ___ a. I work enough to familiarize myself with the subject.
   ___ b. I will pass on the basis of pure luck or intelligence.
   ___ c. I will probably fail.
   ___ d. I make a sincere effort to learn English.
   ___ e. I try to learn English as well as a person from the United States.

6. After finishing school, I will:
    ___ a. go to the United States to become expert in English.
    ___ b. try to use my English here as much as I can.
    ___ c. not bother to remember my English.
    ___ d. continue improving my English (for example: through daily practice, night school, etc.).
    ___ e. try to use English occasionally.

Part 6

Instructions. Answer the following questions in the appropriate manner.

1. Place a check mark (✓) in the appropriate position on the scale to indicate how much you like English compared to other subjects.

    Most preferred a. ___ b. ___ c. ___ d. ___ e. ___ least preferred

2. During English class I:
    ___ a. pay attention always to most of what the teacher says.
    ___ b. have a tendency to think about other things once in a while.
    ___ c. am completely bored and do not try to pay attention.
    ___ d. usually have to force myself to pay attention and listen to the teacher.
    ___ e. become completely absorbed in the subject matter.

3. If I had the opportunity and knew enough English, I would read newspapers and magazines in English:
    ___ a. often
    ___ b. occasionally
    ___ c. almost never
    ___ d. never
    ___ e. exclusively (more so than those in Spanish)

4. After having studied English for a while, I find that:

___ a. generally I have to leave my studies and do something else.
___ b. even though I am able to finish the task, I have a tendency to think about other things.
___ c. I am sufficiently interested to finish the assignment.
___ d. I usually become very interested in what I am studying.
___ e. I almost always feel like studying more English.

5. If I had the opportunity to change the way in which English is taught in our school:

___ a. I would make English the language of instruction for most subjects.
___ b. I would increase the amount of English that is required of each student.
___ c. I would decrease the amount of English required of each student.
___ d. I would maintain the amount of English as it is.
___ e. I would not have English taught at all.

6. With respect to grades 7 through 12, I think that English should be:

___ a. taught to all students.
___ b. taught to all students but not in all these grades.
___ c. taught only to those students who wish to study it.
___ d. taught only to those students with very high grades.
___ e. omitted completely from these grades.

7. I find the study of English to be:

___ a. fascinating
___ b. interesting
___ c. neither more nor less interesting than most subjects.
___ d. boring
___ e. loathsome

Part 7

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) in the appropriate position to answer the questions below.

1. How much encouragement do your parents give you to study English?

   Much a. ___ b. ___ c. ___ d. ___ e. ___ None

2. How much do your parents encourage you to study in general?

   Much a. ___ b. ___ c. ___ d. ___ e. ___ None

Part 8

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) in the position that best describes your situation.

I use my knowledge of English:

___ a. only in class.

___ b. when conversing with certain friends and/or members of my family as well as in class.

___ c. never.

___ d. only in class or when speaking with Americans.

___ e. more often than my knowledge of Spanish.

Part 9

Instructions. It is important that you make a separate and independent judgment for each item. Do not look back to see how you marked the previous scales; try to maintain your attention on the scale at hand. Work as rapidly as you can and don't worry about individual items. Your first impressions, your immediate "sentiments" about the concepts, are what are of interest. On the other hand, please do not be careless, because we are very interested in your true impressions.

Remember that this questionnaire will not be seen by anyone in this school. Only the director of this investigation will have access to your responses.

Indicate your impressions concerning the people of the United States on the following scales of evaluation composed of five blanks.

Example

rich a.__ b.__ c.✓ d.__ e.__ poor

1. interesting a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ boring
2. unbiased a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ prejudiced
3. brave a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ cowardly
4. pretty a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ ugly
5. friendly a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unfriendly
6. honest a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ dishonest
7. intelligent a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ stupid
8. kind a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ cruel
9. pleasant a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unpleasant
10. courteous a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ discourteous
11. sincere a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ hypocritical
12. successful a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unsuccessful
13. independent a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ dependent
14. liberal a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ strict
15. leader a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ follower
16. mature a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ immature
17. happy a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ sad
18. popular a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unpopular
19. hard working a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ lazy
20. ambitious a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unambitious

Indicate your impressions of Puerto Ricans in the following scales composed of five blanks.

1. interesting a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ boring
2. unbiased a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ prejudiced
3. brave a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ cowardly
4. pretty a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ ugly
5. friendly a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unfriendly
6. honest a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ dishonest
7. intelligent a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ stupid
8. kind a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ cruel
9. pleasant a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unpleasant

10. courteous a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ discourteous
11. sincere a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ hypocritical
12. successful a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unsuccessful
13. independent a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ dependent
14. liberal a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ strict
15. leader a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ follower
16. mature a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ immature
17. happy a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ sad
18. popular a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unpopular
19. hard working a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ lazy
20. ambitious a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ unambitious

Part 10

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) in the position which best describes your sentiments with respect to the following items.

If you had the opportunity, would you like to live in the United States?

1. for a short time:

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Definitely no

2. permanently:

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Definitely no

Part 11

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) in the position which best describes your feelings or situation.

1. Do you think that there should be an English language television station in your area?

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not at all

2. Do you often think of yourself as an American citizen?

Frequently a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Never

3. Would you prefer to work with Puerto Ricans who speak English or Spanish?

Prefer English speakers a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Prefer Spanish speakers

4. Would you like to marry someone who ordinarily spoke English?

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Definitely no

5. Would you like your children to grow up speaking English?

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Definitely no

6. Indicate on the scale below how much you like to speak English.

Very much a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not at all

Part 12

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) to the left of the statement that appears most applicable to you.

1. Assuming I had the money, I would like to:
   - ___ a. finish high school.
   - ___ b. go to a university.
   - ___ c. continue school for a while longer.
   - ___ d. leave school now and get a job.
   - ___ e. leave school now but in the future I would like to continue my education.

2. I think that a formal education is:
   - ___ a. a waste of time.
   - ___ b. good for some but not for others.
   - ___ c. something that everyone should have.
   - ___ d. only useful for getting a job.
   - ___ e. useful but takes up too much of one's time.

3. I think that an education:
   - ___ a. will be essential for obtaining the kind of job I desire.

___ b. will not be necessary for obtaining the kind of job that I desire.

___ c. may or may not be useful for getting a job.

___ d. is essential whether or not one is trying to get a job.

___ e. is necessary whether or not one is looking for a job.

4. Place a check mark (✓) in the appropriate position on the scale:

I think that learning in school is:

Extremely pleasant and interesting a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Extremely boring

Part 13

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) in the blank at the left of the statement that best expresses your sentiment.

1. If suddenly I received a sum of money:

___ a. I would keep all or almost all for my future education.

___ b. I would buy the things I need with the money (for example: clothes, tools, etc.).

___ c. I would use it for enjoyment such as traveling, dancing, etc.

___ d. I would save it for an emergency.

___ e. I would save part of the money for my future education, and I would use the rest immediately.

2. I think that to have a lot of money:

___ a. leads to evil.

___ b. is essential for the life I wish to lead.

___ c. is good to have, but really is not important.

___ d. is something about which I have not thought.

___ e. is something for which I do not strive.

3. With respect to my father's occupation (if you are a girl, you should interpret the following alternatives as pertaining to the kind of job that you would like your future husband to have):

___ a. I would not necessarily be interested in getting a better one.

___ b. I would like to have one at least as good.

___ c. I would like to have the same occupation.

___ d. I would like to have a much better occupation and make much more money.

___ e. I would like something different regardless of how much money I would make.

4. Due to the rapid development in Puerto Rico:

___ a. most people should be better off without much effort.

___ b. we should take advantage of the new opportunities which allow us to better ourselves.

___ c. people don't have to worry about losing what they have.

___ d. the rich will become richer and the poor will become poorer.

___ e. there is no excuse for a person not to try to better himself.

Part 14

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) to the left of the statement that you think best expresses your sentiment.

1. Among the great nations of the world, generally:

___ a. the English speaking countries are the most powerful.

___ b. the English speaking countries are somewhat more powerful.

___ c. the English speaking countries are the least powerful.

___ d. the English speaking countries are somewhat less powerful.

___ e. the English speaking countries are about as powerful as the rest.

2. In order for a Puerto Rican to become rich:

    ___ a. a knowledge of English would be useful.
    ___ b. a knowledge of English may be useful.
    ___ c. a knowledge of English is not necessary.
    ___ d. a knowledge of English is essential.
    ___ e. a knowledge of English would be detrimental.

3. Nowadays, for a Puerto Rican to become a scientist:

    ___ a. a command of English is essential.
    ___ b. a basic knowledge of English may be necessary.
    ___ c. a basic knowledge of English would generally be necessary.
    ___ d. a command of English would generally be necessary.
    ___ e. a basic knowledge of English would be essential.

4. If Puerto Rico is to emerge as an ultimately advanced and modernized country:

    ___ a. it will do no good for Puerto Ricans to learn English.
    ___ b. only a handful of Puerto Ricans would need to know English.
    ___ c. Puerto Ricans would have to know some English.
    ___ d. Puerto Ricans may need to know some English.
    ___ e. it would be essential that Puerto Ricans have a command of English.

Part 15

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) to the left of the statement that you consider best expresses your sentiment.

1. In order for a Puerto Rican to gain fame as a great writer:

    ___ a. he would have to have some knowledge of English.
    ___ b. he would have to write in English.
    ___ c. he may need to have some knowledge of English.
    ___ d. he would not have to know any English.
    ___ e. he would have to have a command of English.

2. For one to become familiar with the arts (music, art, literature):
   ___ a. he would not have to know any English.
   ___ b. he would only have to have some facility in English.
   ___ c. he would have to be fluent in English.
   ___ d. he may have to have some facility in English.
   ___ e. English would help but is not necessary.

Part 16

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) to the left of the statement that you consider best expresses your sentiment.

1. I think that learning English:
   ___ a. would make me less Latin American and more North American.
   ___ b. would make me less of a Puerto Rican citizen and more of a North American citizen.
   ___ c. would make me more North American but not necessarily less of a Puerto Rican citizen.
   ___ d. would make me neither more nor less Latin American, North American, or Puerto Rican.
   ___ e. would make me more Puerto Rican, more North American, and less Latin American.

2. I think that it is:
   ___ a. important for Puerto Rico to conserve its Spanish heritage.
   ___ b. important for Puerto Rico to become more Americanized.
   ___ c. not important for Puerto Rico to conserve its Spanish heritage or become more Americanized.
   ___ d. important for Puerto Rico to conserve some of its Spanish heritage while becoming more Americanized.
   ___ e. inevitable that Puerto Rico become more Americanized whether or not it conserves its Spanish heritage.

3. If Puerto Rico becomes a state of the United States in its way of life as well as by law:

___ a. English will be an important factor if not the most important.
___ b. English will have nothing to do with the matter.
___ c. English will be one of many important factors.
___ d. English will have helped only very little.
___ e. English may be a factor.

APPENDIX C

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF PARENT SCHEDULE

You have been selected to be among a group of parents to participate in a school survey. We are seeking to find out what Puerto Rican parents and students think about English. By means of this survey you will be able to inform educators as to how you feel about English instruction in the schools. We would also like to know what you think in general about Americans, about your Spanish tradition, etc.

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions you will be asked. You are to choose only one alternative, that which best seems to fit your beliefs. Please answer all questions, even if on some you have difficulty in choosing an alternative. Only with respect to Parts 3 and 5, if you have never been to school, should you not answer some of the questions.

Try to return this questionnaire the next time your child returns to school.

Number ____________________

Name ____________________

Number ____________________

School of child __________

Part 1

Instructions. Place a check mark in the place on the scale which best describes your thoughts about English.

Example

I believe that a knowledge of English is necessary for being a good citizen.

Very true a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not true

1. For most Puerto Ricans, English is useful for getting a good job.

Very true a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not true

2. I think that he who knows English well is respected by his companions.

Very true a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not true

3. I believe that no one is really educated unless he is fluent in English.

Very true a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not true

4. When I went to school, I needed English to get by in my classes.

Very true a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not true

Part 2

Instructions. Assume that the following statements are opinions which have been at times expressed by people from Puerto Rico and the United States. They cover a variety of topics and many will probably agree with each of them while others will disagree. There are no right or wrong answers. You are asked to mark each statement in the space provided at the left, according to whether or not you agree or disagree, in the following manner:

++ I firmly agree
+ I agree
0 I neither agree nor disagree
- I disagree
-- I firmly disagree

Example

_+_ Children should participate in community activities.

___ 1. Compared to people of the United States, Puerto Ricans are more sincere and honest.

___ 2. Family life is more important to Puerto Ricans than to people of the United States.

___ 3. Compared to Puerto Ricans, Americans are people without imagination.

___ 4. Puerto Ricans appreciate and understand art better than most people of the United States.

___ 5. Puerto Rican children have better manners than American children.

___ 6. People of the United States would benefit greatly if they adopted many aspects of Puerto Rican culture.

___ 7. The American way of life seems crude when compared to ours.

Part 3

Instructions. Respond to the following with a check mark (✓) in the appropriate place.

1. Place a check mark (✓) in the appropriate place on the scale to indicate to what extent you preferred English compared to other subjects when you went to school.

   Most preferred a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Least preferred

2. In English class, I:

   ___ a. used to pay attention to almost everything the teacher said.

   ___ b. had a tendency to think about other things from time to time.

   ___ c. became bored.

   ___ d. had to force myself to listen to the teacher.

   ___ e. used to become absorbed in the subject matter.

3. If I had had the opportunity and had known enough English, I would have liked as a youth to have read newspapers and magazines in English:

   ___ a. often.

   ___ b. occasionally.

___ c. almost never.

___ d. never.

___ e. exclusively (more so than those of Spanish).

4. When I went to school, after having studied English for a while:

___ a. I had to stop and do something else.

___ b. I had a tendency to think about other things.

___ c. I was interested enough to finish the assignment.

___ d. I became very interested in what I was studying.

___ e. I almost always wanted to continue studying English.

5. If I had the opportunity to change the way in which English is taught in school, I would:

___ a. make English the language of instruction for most subjects.

___ b. increase the amount of English required of each student.

___ c. decrease the amount of English required of each student.

___ d. maintain the amount of English as it is at present.

___ e. not have English taught at all.

6. With respect to grades 7 through 12, I think English should be:

___ a. taught to all students.

___ b. taught to all students but not in all grades.

___ c. taught only to those students who wish to study it.

___ d. taught only to those students with very high grades.

___ e. omitted completely from these grades.

7. When I went to school, I found English:

___ a. fascinating

___ b. interesting.

___ c. neither more nor less interesting than most subjects.

___ d. boring

___ e. loathsome.

Part 4

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) in the position that best describes your feelings or situation.

1. Do you think there should be an English television station in your area?

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ One is not necessary

2. Do you often think of yourself as an American citizen?

Often a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Never

3. Would you prefer to work with Puerto Ricans who speak English or Spanish?

Prefer English speakers a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Prefer Spanish speakers

4. When you were younger would you have liked to marry someone who ordinarily spoke English?

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Definitely no

5. Do you want your children to grow up speaking English?

Definitely yes a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Definitely no

6. Indicate on the scale below how much you like to speak English.

Very much a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Not at all

Part 5

Instructions. Place a check mark to the left of the statement that seems to you most applicable.

1. When I was young, I wanted:

___ a. to finish high school.
___ b. to go to a university.
___ c. to continue school a while longer than I did.
___ d. to forget about school and get a job.
___ e. to leave school but in the future continue my education.

2. I think that a formal education is:
   ___ a. a waste of time.
   ___ b. is good for some but not for others.
   ___ c. something that everyone should have.
   ___ d. only useful for getting a job.
   ___ e. useful but takes up too much of one's time.

3. I believe that an education:
   ___ a. is essential for getting the kind of job that I wanted when I was young.
   ___ b. is not necessary for getting the kind of job that I wanted when I was young.
   ___ c. is useful for getting the kind of job that I wanted when I was young.
   ___ d. may or may not be helpful in getting the kind of job I wanted when I was young.
   ___ e. is necessary whether or not one is looking for a job.

4. Place a check mark in the appropriate position on the scale.

   When I went to school, I found the study of English:

   Extremely pleasant and interesting a.__ b.__ c.__ d.__ e.__ Altogether boring

Part 6

Instructions. Place a check mark (✓) to the left of the statement that best describes your feelings.

1. I think that learning English would make me:
   ___ a. less Latin American and more North American.
   ___ b. less of a Puerto Rican and more of a North American citizen.
   ___ c. more of a North American citizen but not necessarily less of a Puerto Rican citizen.
   ___ d. neither more nor less Latin American, North American, or Puerto Rican.
   ___ e. more Puerto Rican, more North American, and less Latin American.

2. I think that it is:

   ___ a. important for Puerto Rico to conserve its Spanish heritage.

   ___ b. important for Puerto Rico to become more Americanized.

   ___ c. not important for Puerto Rico to conserve its Spanish heritage or become more Americanized.

   ___ d. important for Puerto Rico to conserve some of its Spanish heritage while becoming more Americanized.

   ___ e. inevitable that Puerto Rico become more Americanized regardless of whether or not it conserves its Spanish heritage.

3. If Puerto Rico becomes a state of the United States in its way of life as well as by law:

   ___ a. English will be an important factor if not the most important.

   ___ b. English will have nothing to do with the matter.

   ___ c. English will be one of many important factors.

   ___ d. English will have helped only very little.

   ___ e. English may be a factor.

APPENDIX D

PEARSONIAN CORRELATIONS BETWEEN RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND RESPONSE COMPOSITES

As a validity check on the questions used in the survey of student attitudes, each question contributing to a composite score was correlated with that score. The composite score is an index of attitudes for a particular "part" of the questionnaire (see Appendix B). Below are shown coefficients of correlation between composite scores and responses to each of the questions used in making up the composites.

Part 2 [Instrumental Orientation to English]

Questions: (1) .42; (2) .64; (3) .55; (4) .55

Part 4 [Attitudes toward Americans]

Questions: (1) .58; (2) .54; (3) .62; (4) .58; (5) .61;
(6) .51; (7) .57

Part 5 [Motivational Intensity in English]

Questions: (1) .44; (2) .43; (3) .47; (4) .54; (5) .40;
(6) .42

Part 6 [Desire for English]

Questions: (1) .50; (2) .37; (3) .34; (4) .49; (5) .48;
(6) .37; (7) .47

Part 11 [Identification with English]

Questions: (1) .48; (2) .50; (3) .59; (4) .59; (5) .51
(6) .55

Part 12 [Desire for Education]

Questions: (1) .45; (2) .33; (3) .56; (4) .40

Part 13 [Mobility Orientation]

Questions: (1) .32; (2) .33; (3) .59; (4) .30

Part 14 [English as a Symbol of Economic and Political Power]

Questions: (1) .46; (2) .44; (3) .60; (4) .43

APPENDIX E

METHODS OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The data of this study are qualitative for the most part--i.e., our concern was to test for statistical association between categorical attributes. An attempt was made to group the observations into sets of categories, each of which conforms to the principle of mutual exclusiveness and comes close to exhausting the limits of possible responses. For each relationship studied, sets of data were placed in a contingency table in which each observation could qualify for only one cell. These sets of data, or categories, for the dependent variables were separated in three ways: (1) by numbers representing alternative responses, (2) by small letters signifying responses ranked by strength of feeling, or (3) by capital letters which denote grade of pupil in class. In cases where numbers stand for responses, the arrangement of categories as presented in the contingency tables was not the same as may be found in the schedule (i.e., as presented to the subjects). The reason is that responses as shown in the tables found in the text are arranged in hierarchical order; if presented in that order in the schedule, the choices might have induced answers affected by a set, or psychological bias. In all cases, the tables included only valid responses (i.e., according to instructions), and therefore the difference between the total number in the sample and that in a table represents the number of subjects not answering or answering in a way which could not be interpreted.

The Pearsonian χ^2 provided the test statistic in measuring association between variables, while an approximate unit-normal-deviate was used to estimate strength of association. The latter was found by the formula,

$$Z = [\ (\chi^2/DF)^{1/3} - 1 + (2/9DF)\ ]\ /\ [2/9DF]^{1/2}\ ,$$

where DF represents degrees of freedom. In approximate terms, one can say that a negative Z score indicates randomness (i.e., no association between variables), while a Z score above 3.00 suggests an exceedingly strong association. Actually, we cannot define categorically which Z scores constitute complete randomness and perfect association (e.g., as .00 and 1.00 often do), because the absolute limits of the measure depend upon the limits of χ^2. This appears to be the principal weakness of this measure in comparison to alternative contingency coefficients. Unlike other measures, however, the unit-normal-deviate does not inflate substantially the value of DF over *N* or *N* over DF. No matter how many are the degrees of freedom or the number of observations, a particular Z score (assuming it falls between -2.00 and 3.00) will indicate the same strength of association. Generally, we may regard a Z score of over 1.00 as indicating moderate strength, over 1.65 as indicating a strong association, and over 2.25 as indicating a very strong association.

Unfortunately, however, such scores, depending as they do on χ^2, give no indication as to whether the association is positive or negative. Moreover, a χ^2 value or a unit-normal-deviate can yield only estimates of overall association between variables. In order to determine where in the contingency table association between variables becomes actually significant, i.e., among which of the cells the observed values vary most from the expected, we need a statistic designed specifically to revealing information regarding the internal structure of the table. The cell-normal-deviate is such a statistic. It is found by the formula,

$$z_{ij} = (X_{ij} - E_{ij}) / \sqrt{E_{ij}} ,$$

where X_{ij} is the observed count for a given cell and E_{ij} is the expected count. Generally, we may regard a cell with a positive or negative z value of about 1.00 to be contributing substantially to the significance of the relationship, and a z value of 2.00 or over to be extremely strong in its contribution. Whether the relationship is direct or inverse can be discerned by the flow, or order, of the signs. A diagonal of positive z values which starts high on the left side of the table and ends low on the right indicates a positive relationship between the variables. A diagonal of negative values in the same pattern indicates a negative relationship. How clearly we were able to interpret the relationships depended in large part on how closely the pattern of values approximated these models.

For use of the χ^2 approximation when expected frequencies were small, as they were in certain cases, the following rules of thumb suggested by Walker and Lev were applied.

> If there are 2 or more degrees of freedom and roughly approximate probabilities are acceptable for the test of significance, an expectation of only 2 in a cell is sufficient.
>
> If there are more than 2 degrees of freedom and the expectation in all the cells but one is 5 or more, then an expectation of only one in the remaining cell is sufficient to provide a fair approximation to the exact probabilities.
>
> If the logic of the problem permits, combine some of the classes to increase the expectations in the cells when several cells have very small expectations.[1]

Finally, attitude differences between public and parochial-school children and between generations were assessed. The method used here was a comparison between the subsamples of the percentages of persons selecting alternative responses in a given question.

---

[1] Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, Statistical Inference (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 107.

APPENDIX F

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Among the variables selected for cross-tabulation were socio-economic status (SES), residence, father's education, father's occupation, number of siblings who speak English (henceforth referred to as "English speaking siblings"), and extent to which parents speak English (henceforth referred to as "English speaking parents").

SES represents a two-factor index in which father's occupation was given a weight of 7 and father's education was given a weight of 4 (see Appendix A). Categories of "English speaking parents" are as follows: High (parents speak English frequently), Mid (parents speak English occasionally), and Low (parents never speak English).

Figures in parentheses represent responses of Catholic-school pupils; no such responses are given for the category "rural" because of the absence of parochial-school children at the ninth-grade level in rural areas (see Appendix A).

TABLE 127

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES) AND RESIDENCE, IN PERCENTAGES

SES	Residence			Total	
	San Juan	Other urban	Rural	%	*n*
High	60.9 (46.5)	26.7 (53.5)	12.4	100.0 (100.0)	[105] [101]
Mid	28.1 (57.4)	32.5 (42.6)	39.3	99.9 (100.0)	[277] [68]
Low	26.8 (60.0)	43.2 (40.0)	30.0	100.0 (100.0)	[310] [25]
Total	32.5 (52.1)	36.4 (47.9)	31.1	100.0 (100.0)	[692] [194]

TABLE 128

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S EDUCATION AND RESIDENCE, IN PERCENTAGES

Father's educ., by grade level	Residence			Total	
	San Juan	Other urban	Rural	%	*n*
10+	49.7	29.8	20.5	100.0	[151]
	(47.7)	(52.3)	....	(100.0)	[132]
7-9	42.7	35.7	21.7	100.1	[138]
	(58.1)	(41.9)	....	(100.0)	[31]
0-6	22.6	39.2	38.2	100.0	[403]
	(64.5)	(35.5)	....	(100.0)	[31]
Total	32.5	36.4	31.1	100.0	[692]
	(52.1)	(47.9)	....	(100.0)	[194]

TABLE 129

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE, IN PERCENTAGES

Father's occupation	Residence			Total	
	San Juan	Other urban	Rural	%	*n*
High	57.8	27.4	14.8	100.0	[135]
	(45.4)	(54.5)	....	(99.9)	[99]
Mid	23.6	33.3	43.1	100.0	[225]
	(56.1)	(43.9)	....	(100.0)	[57]
Low	28.3	42.2	29.5	100.0	[332]
	(63.2)	(36.8)	....	(100.0)	[38]
Total	32.5	36.4	31.1	100.0	[692]
	(52.1)	(47.9)	....	(100.0)	[194]

TABLE 130

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND FATHER'S EDUCATION, IN PERCENTAGES

Father's occupation	Father's education (by grade level)			Total	
	10+	7-9	0-6	%	*n*
High	51.1 (83.8)	18.5 (9.1)	30.4 (7.1)	100.0 (100.0)	[135] [99]
Mid	15.1 (57.9)	21.8 (19.3)	63.1 (22.8)	100.0 (100.0)	[225] [57]
Low	14.5 (42.1)	19.3 (28.9)	66.3 (28.9)	100.1 (99.9)	[332] [38]
Total	21.8 (68.0)	19.9 (16.0)	58.2 (16.0)	99.9 (100.0)	[692] [194]

TABLE 131

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND FATHER'S EDUCATION, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking siblings	Father's education (by grade level)			Total	
	10+	7-9	0-6	%	*n*
4+ or all	33.5 (68.9)	19.8 (17.0)	46.7 (14.1)	100.0 (100.0)	[167] [106]
2 or 3 but not all	16.2 (76.7)	19.8 (7.0)	64.0 (16.3)	100.0 (100.0)	[247] [43]
None	15.8 (60.0)	21.3 (15.0)	62.8 (25.0)	99.9 (100.0)	[183] [20]
Total	20.9 (69.8)	20.3 (14.2)	58.8 (16.0)	100.0 (100.0)	[597] [169]

TABLE 132

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking siblings	Father's occupation			Total	
	High	Mid	Low	%	*n*
4+ or all	29.0	36.1	34.9	100.0	[169]
	(52.0)	(29.4)	(18.6)	(100.0)	[102]
2 or 3 but not all	13.0	37.4	49.6	100.0	[246]
	(60.5)	(27.9)	(11.6)	(100.0)	[43]
None	19.1	21.9	59.0	100.0	[183]
	(40.0)	(30.0)	(30.0)	(100.0)	[20]
Total	19.4	32.3	48.3	100.0	[598]
	(52.7)	(29.1)	(18.2)	(100.0)	[165]

TABLE 133

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND SES, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking siblings	SES			Total	
	High	Mid	Low	%	*n*
4+ or all	25.3	42.3	32.3	99.9	[170]
	(53.4)	(36.9)	(9.7)	(100.0)	[103]
2 or 3 but not all	9.4	42.3	48.4	100.1	[246]
	(61.0)	(29.3)	(9.8)	(100.1)	[41]
None	12.6	33.3	54.1	100.0	[183]
	(40.0)	(40.0)	(20.0)	(100.0)	[20]
Total	14.9	39.6	45.6	100.1	[599]
	(53.7)	(35.4)	(11.0)	(100.1)	[164]

TABLE 134

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH AND FATHER'S EDUCATION, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking parents	Father's education (by grade level)			Total	
	10+	7-9	0-6	%	*n*
High	52.2	16.4	31.3	99.9	[67]
	(72.7)	(20.0)	(7.3)	(100.0)	[55]
Mid	40.5	29.7	29.7	99.9	[158]
	(79.5)	(10.8)	(9.6)	(99.9)	[83]
Low	11.2	17.2	71.5	99.9	[464]
	(46.4)	(19.6)	(33.9)	(99.9)	[56]
Total	21.9	20.0	58.0	99.9	[689]
	(68.0)	(16.0)	(16.0)	(100.0)	[194]

TABLE 135

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking parents	Father's occupation			Total	
	High	Mid	Low	%	*n*
High	31.3	28.4	40.3	100.0	[67]
	(41.8)	(38.2)	(20.0)	(100.0)	[55]
Mid	30.4	29.7	39.9	100.0	[158]
	(61.4)	(28.9)	(9.6)	(99.9)	[83]
Low	14.2	33.8	51.9	99.9	[464]
	(44.6)	(21.4)	(33.9)	(99.9)	[56]
Total	19.6	32.4	48.0	100.0	[689]
	(51.0)	(29.4)	(19.6)	(100.0)	[194]

TABLE 136

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH AND SES, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking parents	SES			Total	
	High	Mid	Low	%	*n*
High	32.8 (47.3)	35.8 (45.4)	31.3 (7.3)	99.9 (100.0)	[67] [55]
Mid	28.5 (66.3)	39.9 (28.9)	31.6 (4.8)	100.0 (100.0)	[158] [83]
Low	8.2 (35.7)	40.7 (33.9)	51.1 (30.4)	100.0 (100.0)	[464] [56]
Total	15.2 (52.1)	40.1 (35.0)	44.7 (12.9)	100.0 (100.0)	[689] [194]

TABLE 137

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS AND RESIDENCE, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking siblings	Residence			Total	
	San Juan	Other urban	Rural	%	*n*
4+ or all	40.0 (49.5)	29.4 (50.5)	30.6	100.0 (100.0)	[170] [107]
2 or 3 but not all	25.9 (60.5)	38.9 (39.5)	35.2	100.0 (100.0)	[247] [43]
None	33.3 (50.0)	36.1 (50.0)	30.6	100.0 (100.0)	[183] [20]
Total	32.2 (52.4)	35.3 (47.6)	32.2	99.7 (100.0)	[600] [170]

TABLE 138

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH AND RESIDENCE, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking parents	Residence			Total	
	San Juan	Other urban	Rural	%	*n*
High	44.8	31.3	23.9	100.0	[67]
	(50.9)	(49.1)	....	(100.1)	[55]
Mid	39.2	32.9	27.8	99.9	[158]
	(47.0)	(53.0)	....	(100.0)	[83]
Low	28.4	38.5	33.1	100.0	[465]
	(60.7)	(39.3)	....	(100.0)	[56]
Total	32.5	36.5	31.0	100.0	[691]
	(52.1)	(47.9)	....	(100.0)	[194]

TABLE 139

RELATIONSIP BETWEEN AMOUNT PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH AND ENGLISH SPEAKING SIBLINGS, IN PERCENTAGES

English speaking siblings	English speaking parents			Total	
	High	Mid	Low	%	*n*
4+ or all	50.0	40.3	9.7	100.0	[62]
	(71.7)	(23.9)	(4.3)	(99.9)	[46]
2 or 3 but not all	46.1	33.1	20.8	100.0	[130]
	(61.3)	(25.3)	(13.3)	(99.9)	[75]
None	19.0	43.9	37.0	99.9	[405]
	(57.1)	(26.5)	(16.3)	(99.9)	[49]
Total	28.1	41.2	30.6	99.9	[597]
	(62.9)	(25.3)	(11.8)	(100.0)	[170]

APPENDIX G

THE COMBINED EFFECT OF SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON ATTITUDES TOWARD LEARNING ENGLISH

The tables which follow complement the analysis of relationships between independent and dependent variables. They are an attempt to determine what might be the combined effects of causal elements on attitudes and related factors in learning English among pupils in the public schools.

A number of key independent variables were chosen and combined to determine a "pooled" effect on attitudes. Included were place of residence, education of father, occupation of father, amount parents speak English, and a composite index of orientation to mobility. Our method was to take only those pupils scoring "high" on all of the independent factors and comparing their responses against those pupils scoring "low" on all factors. The first group is made up of those few mobility-oriented students living in the San Juan metropolitan area, whose fathers had attended at least senior high school and are businessmen or professionals, and whose parents speak English at least occasionally. The second group includes pupils not having a high degree of mobility orientation, who live in rural areas, whose fathers had less than a seventh grade education and are small-scale farmers or unskilled laborers, and whose parents never speak English. The observations are shown as percentages with observed frequencies in parentheses.

TABLE 140

GRADE OF PUPIL IN ENGLISH CLASS, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Grade (%) A	B	C	D	E	Total
High	.0 (0)	19.0 (4)	42.9 (9)	33.3 (7)	4.8 (1)	100.0 (21)
Low	.0 (0)	23.1 (3)	30.8 (4)	46.2 (6)	.0 (0)	100.1 (13)

TABLE 141

STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH IS USEFUL FOR GETTING A GOOD JOB, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%) Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total
High	72.7 (16)	18.2 (4)	.0 (0)	4.5 (1)	4.5 (1)	99.9 (22)
Low	30.8 (4)	46.2 (6)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	100.1 (13)

TABLE 142

STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH EARNS RESPECT, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
High	13.6 (3)	31.8 (7)	36.4 (8)	9.1 (2)	9.1 (2)	100.0 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	53.8 (7)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	15.4 (2)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 143

STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH CONTRIBUTES TO BEING EDUCATED, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
High	18.2 (4)	27.3 (6)	13.6 (3)	13.6 (3)	27.3 (6)	100.0 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	23.1 (3)	15.4 (2)	.0 (0)	53.8 (7)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 144

STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH IS NEEDED FOR GETTING BY IN SCHOOL, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
High	50.0 (11)	27.3 (6)	18.3 (4)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (22)
Low	23.1 (3)	53.8 (7)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 145

COMPOSITE INDEX OF INSTRUMENTAL ORIENTATION, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Composite responses (%)					Total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
High	9.5 (2)	66.7 (14)	19.0 (4)	4.8 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (21)
Low	.0 (0)	46.2 (6)	38.4 (5)	15.4 (2)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 146

STATEMENT THAT PUERTO RICANS ARE MORE SINCERE AND HONEST THAN PEOPLE FROM THE UNITED STATES, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
High	27.3 (6)	22.7 (5)	31.8 (7)	13.6 (3)	4.5 (1)	99.9 (22)
Low	15.4 (2)	23.1 (3)	38.4 (5)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 147

STATEMENT THAT FAMILY LIFE IS MORE IMPORTANT TO PUERTO RICANS THAN TO PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
High	36.4 (8)	31.8 (7)	31.8 (7)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	46.2 (6)	30.8 (4)	15.4 (2)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 148

STATEMENT THAT PUERTO RICANS ARE MORE IMAGINATIVE THAN PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Response (%)					
Group	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total
High	4.5 (1)	13.6 (3)	36.4 (8)	31.8 (7)	13.6 (3)	99.9 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	53.8 (7)	15.4 (2)	7.7 (1)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 149

STATEMENT THAT PUERTO RICANS APPRECIATE AND UNDERSTAND ART BETTER THAN PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Response (%)					
Group	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total
High	9.1 (2)	13.6 (3)	45.5 (10)	22.7 (5)	9.1 (2)	100.0 (22)
Low	15.4 (2)	46.2 (6)	15.4 (2)	15.4 (2)	7.7 (1)	100.1 (13)

TABLE 150

STATEMENT THAT PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN HAVE BETTER MANNERS THAN U.S. CHILDREN, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
High	9.1 (2)	18.3 (4)	36.4 (8)	22.7 (5)	13.6 (3)	100.1 (22)
Low	.0 (0)	15.4 (2)	53.8 (7)	30.8 (4)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 151

STATEMENT THAT AMERICANS WOULD BENEFIT GREATLY IF THEY ADOPTED MANY ASPECTS OF PUERTO RICAN CULTURE, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	
High	22.7 (5)	31.8 (7)	22.7 (5)	18.3 (4)	4.5 (1)	100.0 (22)
Low	15.4 (2)	46.2 (6)	30.8 (4)	.0 (0)	7.7 (1)	100.1 (13)

TABLE 152

STATEMENT THAT THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE APPEARS CRUDE WHEN COMPARED TO THAT OF PUERTO RICANS, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%) Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	Total
High	9.1 (2)	31.8 (7)	40.9 (9)	13.6 (3)	4.5 (1)	99.9 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	53.8 (7)	15.4 (2)	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 153

COMPOSITE INDEX OF ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICANS, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Composite responses (%) Negative 1	2	3	4	Positive 5	Total
High	4.5 (1)	45.5 (10)	36.4 (8)	9.1 (2)	4.5 (1)	100.0 (22)
Low	.0 (0)	30.8 (4)	69.2 (9)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 154

AMOUNT PUPIL STUDIES COMPARED TO OTHER PUPILS IN ENGLISH CLASS, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	4.5 (1)	22.7 (5)	54.5 (12)	13.6 (3)	4.5 (1)	99.8 (22)
Low	.0 (0)	15.4 (2)	69.2 (9)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) I study much more than most pupils in my English class; (2) I study more than most pupils in my English class; (3) I study as much as most pupils in my English class; (4) I study less than most pupils in my English class; (5) I study much less than most people in my English class.

TABLE 155

AMOUNT PUPIL THINKS ABOUT THE WORDS AND IDEAS LEARNED IN ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	27.3 (6)	31.8 (7)	40.9 (9)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	38.4 (5)	46.2 (6)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) Outside of school I think about words and ideas learned in English most of the time; (2) I often think about words and ideas learned in English; (3) I sometimes think about words and ideas learned in English; (4) I almost never think about words and ideas learned in English; (5) I never think about words and ideas learned in English.

TABLE 156

WHERE PUPIL WOULD GO IF ENGLISH WERE NOT TAUGHT IN HIS SCHOOL, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	22.7 (5)	50.0 (11)	22.7 (5)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	99.9 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	30.8 (4)	38.4 (5)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) If English were not taught in this school, I would go to the U.S. to learn it; (2) I would try to take lessons elsewhere; (3) I would try to learn English in situations of daily life (for example, by reading books and magazines in English and trying to speak it whenever possible); (4) I would wait to learn it naturally sometime in the future; (5) I would not bother to learn English at all.

TABLE 157

HOW MUCH TIME THE PUPIL SPENDS STUDYING ENGLISH AT HOME, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	13.6 (3)	40.9 (9)	18.3 (4)	9.1 (2)	18.3 (4)	100.3 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	23.1 (3)	7.7 (1)	46.2 (6)	15.4 (2)	100.1 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) On the average, I spend more than six hours per week studying English; (2) I spend about six hours per week studying English; (3) I spend about four hours per week studying English; (4) I spend about two hours per week studying English; (5) I spend less than one hour per week studying English.

TABLE 158

AMOUNT OF EFFORT PUPIL PUTS INTO STUDYING ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	31.8 (7)	45.5 (10)	18.3 (4)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	84.6 (11)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) Considering how I do in my English studies, I can honestly say that I try to learn English as well as a person from the U.S.; (2) I make a sincere effort to learn English; (3) I work enough to familiarize myself with English; (4) I will get along on the basis of sheer luck or intelligence; (5) I will probably fail.

TABLE 159

EXTENT TO WHICH PUPIL PLANS TO BETTER HIS KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	22.7 (5)	36.4 (8)	36.4 (8)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	15.4 (2)	38.4 (5)	23.1 (3)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) After completing school, I will probably go to the U.S. to become an expert in English; (2) I will continue bettering my English (e.g., through daily practice, night school, etc.); (3) I will try to use English here as much as I am able; (4) I will occasionally try to employ my English; (5) I will not bother to remember English.

TABLE 160

COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOTIVATIONAL INTENSITY, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Composite responses (%)					Total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
High	4.5 (1)	59.1 (13)	36.4 (8)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	.0 (0)	30.8 (4)	69.2 (9)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 161

PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH COMPARED TO OTHER COURSES, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Most preferred 1	2	3	4	Least preferred 5	
High	27.3 (6)	36.4 (8)	22.7 (5)	9.1 (2)	4.5 (1)	100.0 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	38.4 (5)	38.4 (5)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	99.9 (13)

TABLE 162

AMOUNT OF INTEREST IN ENGLISH CLASSES, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	.0 (0)	86.4 (19)	4.5 (1)	9.1 (2)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	69.2 (9)	.0 (0)	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) During my English classes, I become completely absorbed in the subject matter; (2) I always pay attention to most of what the teacher says; (3) I have a tendency to think about other things from time to time; (4) I usually have to force myself to pay attention and listen to the teacher; (5) I become completely bored and do not try to pay attention.

TABLE 163

AMOUNT PUPIL WOULD READ MATERIALS IN ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	4.5 (1)	50.0 (11)	40.9 (9)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	99.9 (22)
Low	.0 (0)	23.1 (3)	69.2 (9)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) If I had the opportunity and knew enough English, I would read newspapers and magazines in English exclusively; (2) I would often read newspapers and magazines in English; (3) I would occasionally read newspapers and magazines in English; (4) I would hardly ever read newspapers and magazines in English; (5) I would never read newspapers and magazines in English.

TABLE 164

INTEREST SHOWN TOWARD ENGLISH STUDY, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	40.9 (9)	13.6 (3)	31.8 (7)	4.5 (1)	9.1 (2)	99.9 (22)
Low	30.8 (4)	23.1 (3)	23.1 (3)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	100.1 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) After having studied English for a while, I find that I almost always feel like studying more; (2) I usually become very interested in what I am studying; (3) I am sufficiently interested to finish the assignment; (4) Even though I am able to complete the task, I have a tendency to think about other things; (5) I usually have to drop my studies and do something else.

TABLE 165

WAY IN WHICH PUPIL WOULD CHANGE AMOUNT OF ENGLISH TAUGHT, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	13.6 (3)	31.8 (7)	45.5 (10)	9.1 (2)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	38.4 (5)	30.8 (4)	30.8 (4)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) If I had the opportunity to change the way in which English is taught in the school, I would make it the language of instruction for most subjects; (2) I would increase the amount of English required of each student; (3) I would maintain the amount of English as it is; (4) I would decrease the amount of English; (5) I would not have English taught at all.

TABLE 166

TO WHOM PUPIL THINKS ENGLISH SHOULD BE TAUGHT, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	72.7 (16)	13.6 (3)	.0 (0)	13.6 (3)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	84.6 (11)	.0 (0)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) With respect to grades 7 to 12, I think that English should be taught to all students; (2) I think that English should be taught to all students, but not in all these grades; (3) I think English should be taught only to those with very high grades; (4) I think that English should be taught only to those who wish to study it; (5) I think English should be omitted entirely from these grades.

TABLE 167

HOW INTERESTING PUPIL FINDS ENGLISH STUDY, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	4.5 (1)	72.7 (16)	18.3 (4)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	99.9 (22)
Low	.0 (0)	61.5 (8)	30.8 (4)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) I find the study of English fascinating; (2) I find the study of English interesting; (3) I find the study of English neither more nor less interesting than most subjects; (4) I find the study of English boring; (5) I find the study of English loathsome.

TABLE 168

COMPOSITE INDEX OF THE DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Composite responses (%)					Total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
High	13.6 (3)	68.2 (15)	18.3 (4)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.1 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	53.8 (7)	38.4 (5)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	99.9 (13)

TABLE 169

AMOUNT OF ENCOURAGEMENT PARENTS GIVE PUPILS TO STUDY ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Much 1	2	3	4	None 5	
High	45.5 (10)	40.9 (9)	4.5 (1)	4.5 (1)	4.5 (1)	99.9 (22)
Low	15.4 (2)	46.2 (6)	30.8 (4)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (13)

TABLE 170

AMOUNT OF ENCOURAGEMENT PARENTS GIVE PUPILS TO STUDY IN GENERAL, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Much 1	2	3	4	None 5	
High	45.5 (10)	31.8 (7)	13.6 (3)	4.5 (1)	4.5 (1)	99.9 (22)
Low	30.8 (4)	38.4 (5)	23.1 (3)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 171

AMOUNT PUPIL USES ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	.0 (0)	68.2 (15)	13.6 (3)	18.3 (4)	.0 (0)	100.1 (22)
Low	15.4 (2)	30.8 (4)	7.7 (1)	46.2 (6)	.0 (0)	100.1 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) I use my knowledge of English more often than my knowledge of Spanish; (2) I use my English when conversing with certain friends and/or members of my family as well as in class; (3) I use English in class or when speaking to Americans; (4) I use English only in class; (5) I never use English.

TABLE 172

DEGREES OF DESIRE FOR ENGLISH T.V. STATION, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strong desire 1	2	3	4	No desire 5	
High	31.8 (7)	54.5 (12)	9.1 (2)	.0 (0)	4.5 (1)	99.9 (22)
Low	46.2 (6)	38.4 (5)	15.4 (2)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 173

DEGREES OF IDENTIFICATION WITH AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Strong 1	2	3	4	None 5	
High	42.9 (9)	38.1 (8)	14.3 (3)	4.8 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (22)
Low	7.7 (1)	23.1 (3)	30.8 (4)	15.4 (2)	23.1 (3)	100.1 (13)

TABLE 174

DEGREES OF PREFERENCE FOR WORKING WITH ENGLISH OR SPANISH SPEAKERS, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	English speakers 1	2	3	4	Spanish speakers 5	
High	13.6 (3)	45.5 (10)	18.3 (4)	9.1 (2)	13.6 (3)	100.1 (22)
Low	15.4 (2)	46.2 (6)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	23.1 (3)	100.1 (13)

TABLE 175

DESIRE TO MARRY AN ENGLISH SPEAKER, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Definitely yes 1	2	3	4	Definitely no 5	
High	22.7 (5)	31.8 (7)	27.3 (6)	.0 (0)	18.3 (4)	100.1 (22)
Low	23.1 (3)	7.7 (1)	38.4 (5)	7.7 (1)	23.1 (3)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 176

DESIRE TO HAVE CHILDREN GROW UP AS ENGLISH SPEAKERS, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Definitely yes 1	2	3	4	Definitely no 5	
High	45.5 (10)	36.4 (8)	18.3 (4)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.2 (22)
Low	38.4 (5)	23.1 (3)	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	15.4 (2)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 177

DEGREE TO WHICH PUPILS ENJOY SPEAKING ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Very much 1	2	3	4	Not at all 5	
High	36.4 (8)	45.5 (10)	18.3 (4)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.2 (22)
Low	38.4 (5)	38.4 (5)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	99.9 (13)

TABLE 178

COMPOSITE INDEX OF IDENTIFICATION WITH ENGLISH, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Composite responses (%)					Total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
High	9.6 (2)	71.4 (15)	19.0 (4)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (21)
Low	.0 (0)	61.5 (8)	15.4 (2)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 179

LEVEL OF SCHOOL TO WHICH ASPIRED, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	77.3 (17)	18.3 (4)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.1 (22)
Low	61.5 (8)	23.1 (3)	15.4 (2)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) Assuming I had the money, I would like to go to a university; (2) I would like to finish high school; (3) I would like to continue school for a while more; (4) I would like to leave school now but in the future continue my education; (5) I would like to leave school now and get a job.

TABLE 180

BELIEF IN THE VALUE OF FORMAL EDUCATION, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	95.5 (21)	.0 (0)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	84.6 (11)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) I think that a formal education is something that everyone should have; (2) Formal education is good for some but not for others; (3) Formal education is only useful for getting a job; (4) Formal education is useful but takes up too much of one's time; (5) Formal education is a waste of time.

TABLE 181

EXTENT TO WHICH PUPIL THINKS EDUCATION WILL BE USEFUL TO HIM, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	27.3 (6)	54.5 (12)	13.6 (3)	.0 (0)	4.5 (1)	99.9 (22)
Low	23.1 (3)	53.8 (7)	15.4 (2)	.0 (0)	7.7 (1)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) I think that an education is essential whether or not one is trying to get a job; (2) An education will be essential for getting the kind of job I want; (3) An education will be useful for getting the kind of job I want; (4) An education may or may not be useful for getting the kind of job I want; (5) An education will not be needed for getting the kind of job I want.

TABLE 182

HOW INTERESTING PUPIL FINDS LEARNING IN SCHOOL TO BE, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)					Total
	Extremely interesting 1	2	3	4	Completely boring 5	
High	59.1 (13)	31.8 (7)	4.5 (1)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	99.9 (22)
Low	76.9 (10)	23.1 (3)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

TABLE 183

COMPOSITE INDEX OF ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Composite responses (%)					Total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
High	50.0 (11)	45.5 (10)	4.5 (1)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (22)
Low	38.4 (5)	61.5 (8)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	99.9 (13)

TABLE 184

BELIEF IN THE POWER OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	25.0 (5)	15.0 (3)	55.0 (11)	5.0 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (20)
Low	.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	81.8 (9)	.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	100.0 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) Among the great countries of the world, the English speaking nations are the most powerful; (2) The English speaking nations are somewhat more powerful; (3) The English speaking nations are about as powerful as the rest; (4) The English speaking nations are somewhat less powerful; (5) The English speaking nations are the least powerful.

TABLE 185

BELIEF IN THE NECESSITY TO KNOW ENGLISH TO BECOME WEALTHY, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	15.0 (3)	50.0 (10)	30.0 (6)	5.0 (1)	.0 (0)	100.0 (20)
Low	36.4 (4)	18.2 (2)	36.4 (4)	9.1 (1)	.0 (0)	100.1 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) For a Puerto Rican to become wealthy, a knowledge of English is essential; (2) A knowledge of English would be useful; (3) A knowledge of English may be useful; (4) A knowledge of English is not needed; (5) A knowledge of English would be harmful.

TABLE 186

BELIEF IN THE NEED FOR ENGLISH IN BECOMING A SCIENTIST, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	25.0 (5)	.0 (0)	15.0 (3)	30.0 (6)	30.0 (6)	100.0 (20)
Low	18.2 (2)	27.3 (3)	9.1 (1)	9.1 (1)	36.4 (4)	100.1 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) Nowadays, for a Puerto Rican to become a scientist, a command of English is essential; (2) A command of English would ordinarily be necessary; (3) A basic knowledge of English would be essential; (4) Some knowledge of English would ordinarily be necessary; (5) A basic knowledge of English may be necessary.

TABLE 187

BELIEF IN THE NEED OF ENGLISH FOR MODERNIZATION, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	55.0 (11)	35.0 (7)	.0 (0)	5.0 (1)	5.0 (1)	100.0 (20)
Low	27.3 (3)	36.4 (4)	9.1 (1)	27.3 (3)	.0 (0)	100.1 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) If Puerto Rico is to emerge ultimately as an advanced and modernized country, it would be essential that Puerto Ricans have a command of English; (2) Puerto Ricans would have to know some English; (3) Puerto Ricans perhaps would have to learn English; (4) Only a handful of Puerto Ricans would need to know English; (5) It would do no good for Puerto Ricans to learn English.

TABLE 188

COMPOSITE INDEX OF ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH WITH WEALTH AND POWER, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Composite responses (%)					Total
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	
High	.0 (0)	55.0 (11)	45.0 (9)	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	100.0 (20)
Low	.0 (0)	45.5 (5)	36.4 (4)	18.2 (2)	.0 (0)	100.1 (11)

TABLE 189

BELIEF IN THE NEED FOR KNOWING ENGLISH TO BECOME FAMOUS AS A WRITER, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	5.0 (1)	5.0 (1)	55.0 (11)	30.0 (6)	5.0 (1)	100.0 (20)
Low	9.1 (1)	36.4 (4)	18.2 (2)	36.4 (4)	.0 (0)	100.1 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) For a Puerto Rican to gain fame as a great writer, he would have to write in English; (2) He would have to have a command of English; (3) He would have to have some knowledge of English; (4) He may need to know some English; (5) He would not have to know any English.

TABLE 190

BELIEF IN THE NEED FOR KNOWING ENGLISH TO BECOME FAMILIAR WITH THE ARTS, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	20.0 (4)	30.0 (6)	30.0 (6)	5.0 (1)	15.0 (3)	100.0 (20)
Low	27.3 (3)	18.2 (2)	9.1 (1)	36.4 (4)	9.1 (1)	100.0 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) For a Puerto Rican to become familiar with the arts, he would have to be fluent in English; (2) He would only have to have some facility in English; (3) He would perhaps need to have facility in English; (4) English would help but is not necessary; (5) He would not have to know any English.

TABLE 191

HOW PUPIL THINKS LEARNING ENGLISH WOULD CHANGE HIS CULTURAL IDENTITY, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	10.5 (2)	10.5 (2)	15.8 (3)	5.3 (1)	57.9 (11)	100.0 (19)
Low	9.1 (1)	9.1 (1)	27.3 (3)	18.4 (2)	36.4 (4)	100.3 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) I think learning English would make me less Puerto Rican and more North American; (2) Learning English would make me less Latin American and more North American; (3) Learning English would make me more North American, but not necessarily less Puerto Rican; (4) Learning English would make me more Puerto Rican, more North American and less Latin American; (5) Learning English would make me neither more nor less Latin American, North American, or Puerto Rican.

TABLE 192

DIRECTION PUPIL THINKS PUERTO RICAN CULTURE SHOULD TAKE, BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	5.0 (1)	5.0 (1)	10.0 (2)	40.0 (8)	40.0 (8)	100.0 (20)
Low	54.5 (6)	.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	.0 (0)	36.4 (4)	100.0 (11)

[a] Categories: (1) It is important that Puerto Rico become more Americanized; (2) It is inevitable that Puerto Rico become more Americanized whether or not it conserves its Spanish heritage; (3) It is not important for Puerto Rico to conserve its Spanish heritage or to become more Americanized; (4) It is important for Puerto Rico to conserve some of its Spanish heritage while becoming more Americanized; (5) It is important that Puerto Rico conserve its Spanish heritage.

TABLE 193

HOW IMPORTANT A FACTOR PUPIL THINKS ENGLISH MAY BE IN MAKING PUERTO RICO MORE LIKE THE U.S., BY GROUPS COMBINED ON SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Group	Response (%)[a]					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
High	47.6 (10)	38.1 (8)	9.6 (2)	.0 (0)	4.8 (1)	100.1 (21)
Low	23.1 (3)	61.5 (8)	7.7 (1)	.0 (0)	7.7 (1)	100.0 (13)

[a] Categories: (1) If Puerto Rico becomes a state of the U.S. in its way of life as well as by law, English will be an important, if not the most important, factor; (2) English will be one of many important factors; (3) English may be a factor; (4) English will have helped only very little; (5) English will have nothing to do with the matter.

APPENDIX H

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF ATTITUDINAL RESPONSES NOT SHOWN IN CHAPTER VI, BY GROUPS SAMPLED

TABLE 194

AMOUNT PUPIL STUDIES COMPARED TO OTHER PUPILS IN ENGLISH CLASS, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	3.8	7.5	60.2	22.5	6.0	100.0	703
Catholic pupils	.5	6.6	71.9	17.9	3.0	99.9	196

[a] For categories, see Table 154, supra, p. 318.

TABLE 195

AMOUNT PUPIL THINKS ABOUT THE WORDS AND IDEAS LEARNED IN ENGLISH, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	18.6	24.9	47.8	6.4	2.3	100.0	703
Catholic pupils	9.2	33.7	48.5	6.6	2.0	100.0	196

[a] For categories, see Table 155, supra, p. 318.

TABLE 196

WHERE PUPIL WOULD GO IF ENGLISH WERE NOT TAUGHT IN HIS SCHOOL, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	13.4	31.6	31.0	19.2	4.7	99.9	702
Catholic pupils	7.6	48.0	31.6	9.2	3.6	100.0	196

[a] For categories, see Table 156, supra, p. 319.

TABLE 197

AMOUNT OF EFFORT PUPIL PUTS INTO STUDYING ENGLISH, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	15.4	59.9	12.8	6.4	5.6	100.1	703
Catholic pupils	23.5	30.6	37.2	8.7	.0	100.0	196

[a] For categories, see Table 158, supra, p. 320.

TABLE 198

COMPOSITE INDEX OF MOTIVATIONAL INTENSITY, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Composite responses (%)					Total	
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	.3	37.8	51.4	10.0	.4	99.9	698
Catholic pupils	.0	32.6	61.2	6.1	.0	99.9	198

TABLE 199

PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH COMPARED TO OTHER COURSES, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	English most preferred 1	2	3	English least preferred 4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	29.1	37.7	20.3	3.2	9.7	100.0	693
Catholic pupils	23.5	51.0	18.4	4.6	2.6	100.1	196
Public parents	33.2	28.8	20.6	9.6	7.9	100.1	292
Catholic parents	30.0	35.7	24.3	5.7	4.3	100.0	70

TABLE 200

INTEREST SHOWN TOWARD ENGLISH STUDY, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	35.6	17.4	16.9	17.1	13.0	100.0	702
Catholic pupils	28.1	20.4	20.4	24.0	7.1	100.0	196
Public parents	18.4	23.6	27.9	11.8	18.4	100.1	305
Catholic parents	11.7	33.8	44.1	5.1	5.1	99.8	77

[a] For categories, see Table 164, supra, p. 323.

TABLE 201

TO WHOM PUPIL THINKS ENGLISH SHOULD BE TAUGHT, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	81.5	4.7	1.1	11.2	1.3	99.8	699
Catholic pupils	91.3	2.6	.5	5.1	.5	100.0	196
Public parents	87.9	5.4	.0	5.1	1.6	100.0	314
Catholic parents	96.2	.0	.0	3.9	.0	100.1	79

[a] For categories, see Table 166, supra, p. 324.

TABLE 202

HOW INTERESTING PUPIL FINDS (FOUND) ENGLISH STUDY, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	8.7	68.6	17.6	4.7	.4	100.0	703
Catholic pupils	7.1	55.6	35.7	1.5	.0	99.9	196
Public parents	6.8	64.1	22.6	5.5	1.0	100.0	309
Catholic parents	7.8	59.7	31.2	.0	1.3	100.0	77

[a] For categories, see Table 167, supra, p. 324.

TABLE 203

STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH IS USEFUL FOR GETTING A JOB, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	59.0	33.0	4.6	1.6	1.9	100.1	700
Catholic pupils	77.0	16.3	3.6	.5	2.6	100.0	196
Public parents	61.3	23.5	6.2	8.4	.6	100.0	323
Catholic parents	73.7	11.2	10.0	1.2	3.7	99.8	80

TABLE 204

STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH EARNS RESPECT, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	20.5	33.2	22.9	6.3	17.1	100.0	702
Catholic pupils	12.2	34.7	27.0	5.6	20.4	99.9	196
Public parents	22.7	19.6	18.3	17.7	21.7	100.0	322
Catholic parents	25.9	12.3	12.3	11.2	38.3	100.0	81

TABLE 205

STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH CONTRIBUTES TO BEING EDUCATED, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	14.2	19.2	20.9	6.3	39.3	99.9	702
Catholic pupils	7.6	25.5	21.9	7.1	37.8	99.9	196
Public parents	17.1	17.7	14.9	15.8	34.5	100.0	322
Catholic parents	9.9	14.8	7.4	9.9	58.0	100.0	81

TABLE 206

COMPOSITE INDEX OF INSTRUMENTAL ORIENTATION, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Composite responses (%) Positive 1	 2	 3	 4	 Negative 5	Total %	 *n*
Public pupils	11.6	55.6	25.0	7.5	.3	100.0	696
Catholic pupils	8.7	60.7	23.0	7.7	.0	100.1	196
Public parents	14.2	36.3	30.9	18.6	.0	100.0	317
Catholic parents	11.4	35.4	32.9	17.7	2.5	99.9	79

TABLE 207

DEGREES OF DESIRE FOR ENGLISH T.V. STATION, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%) Definitely yes 1	 2	 3	 4	 Not necessary 5	Total %	 *n*
Public pupils	51.7	28.8	11.4	3.3	4.8	100.0	702
Catholic pupils	46.4	27.0	17.9	3.1	5.6	100.0	196
Public parents	51.1	21.5	13.7	6.5	7.2	100.0	321
Catholic parents	55.0	21.2	10.0	5.0	8.7	99.9	80

TABLE 208

DEGREES OF PREFERENCE FOR WORKING WITH ENGLISH OR SPANISH SPEAKERS, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%) English speakers 1	2	3	4	Spanish speakers 5	Total %	Total *n*
Public pupils	21.6	23.3	18.9	6.6	29.7	100.1	700
Catholic pupils	18.4	25.0	41.8	3.6	11.2	100.0	196
Public parents	25.2	15.1	22.6	8.8	28.3	100.0	318
Catholic parents	25.0	7.4	41.2	3.7	22.5	99.8	80

TABLE 209

DESIRE TO MARRY AN ENGLISH SPEAKER, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%) Definitely yes 1	2	3	4	Definitely no 5	Total %	Total *n*
Public pupils	34.7	24.1	20.8	5.1	15.3	100.0	701
Catholic pupils	32.6	26.5	28.1	5.1	7.6	99.9	196
Public parents	28.4	25.6	17.0	10.1	18.9	100.0	317
Catholic parents	18.5	28.2	33.6	18.2	1.4	99.9	79

TABLE 210

HOW IMPORTANT A FACTOR PUPIL THINKS ENGLISH MAY BE IN MAKING PUERTO RICO MORE LIKE THE U.S., BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	45.3	33.6	11.7	1.9	7.4	99.9	699
Catholic pupils	42.3	35.7	12.2	2.6	7.1	99.9	196
Public parents	35.3	46.8	8.0	1.3	8.6	100.0	312
Catholic parents	29.1	57.0	6.3	1.3	6.3	100.0	79

[a] For categories, see Table 193, supra, p. 337.

TABLE 211

STATEMENT THAT PUERTO RICANS ARE MORE SINCERE AND HONEST THAN PEOPLE FROM THE U.S., BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	14.5	25.5	44.1	10.6	5.3	100.0	698
Catholic pupils	12.2	21.4	50.5	12.2	3.6	99.9	196
Public parents	12.0	25.6	43.7	15.9	2.9	100.1	309
Catholic parents	11.5	10.3	35.9	32.0	10.3	100.0	78

TABLE 212

STATEMENT THAT FAMILY LIFE IS MORE IMPORTANT TO PUERTO RICANS THAN TO PEOPLE OF THE U.S., BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	15.2	36.3	31.8	12.2	4.4	99.9	697
Catholic pupils	22.4	30.6	30.1	12.8	4.1	100.0	196
Public parents	15.3	36.7	26.2	15.0	6.7	99.9	313
Catholic parents	21.5	26.6	21.5	21.5	8.9	100.0	79

TABLE 213

STATEMENT THAT AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE APPEARS CRUDE WHEN COMPARED TO THAT OF PUERTO RICANS, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly disagree 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	12.7	30.2	31.2	17.0	8.9	100.0	699
Catholic pupils	12.2	29.6	25.0	20.4	12.8	100.0	196
Public parents	9.2	24.8	28.7	27.1	10.2	100.0	314
Catholic parents	7.4	16.2	18.7	38.7	18.7	99.7	80

TABLE 214

BELIEF IN THE POWER OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	24.3	18.4	51.8	2.1	3.3	99.9	699
Catholic pupils	24.0	21.9	51.0	1.0	2.0	99.9	196

[a] For categories, see Table 184, supra, p. 333.

TABLE 215

BELIEF IN THE NECESSITY TO KNOW ENGLISH TO BECOME WEALTHY, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	17.6	40.4	32.7	8.7	.6	100.0	698
Catholic pupils	16.3	37.2	39.8	6.6	.0	99.9	196

[a] For categories, see Table 185, supra, p. 333.

TABLE 216

BELIEF IN THE NEED FOR ENGLISH IN BECOMING A SCIENTIST, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	37.3	11.9	14.9	14.9	20.9	99.9	697
Catholic pupils	38.3	15.8	13.3	14.8	17.9	100.1	196

[a] For categories, see Table 186, supra, p. 334.

TABLE 217

BELIEF IN THE NEED OF ENGLISH FOR MODERNIZATION, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	50.2	30.8	7.6	6.9	4.6	100.1	699
Catholic pupils	53.6	27.0	12.2	2.6	4.6	100.0	196

[a] For categories, see Table 187, supra, p. 334.

TABLE 218

COMPOSITE INDEX OF ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH WITH WEALTH AND POWER, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Composite responses (%)					Total	
	Positive 1	2	3	4	Negative 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	6.5	60.6	27.9	4.9	.1	100.0	696
Catholic pupils	5.1	63.3	27.6	4.1	.0	100.1	196

TABLE 219

BELIEF IN THE NEED FOR KNOWING ENGLISH TO BECOME FAMOUS AS A WRITER, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	17.4	18.5	36.2	23.1	4.7	99.9	696
Catholic pupils	3.6	17.9	27.6	34.7	16.3	100.1	196

[a] For categories, see Table 189, *supra*, p. 335.

TABLE 220

BELIEF IN THE NEED FOR KNOWING ENGLISH TO BECOME FAMILIAR WITH THE ARTS, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	34.0	27.0	20.9	12.0	6.0	99.9	699
Catholic pupils	21.4	24.5	11.7	32.1	10.2	99.9	196

[a] For categories, see Table 190, supra, p. 336.

TABLE 221

EMPHASIS PLACED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING MONEY, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	28.6	32.4	24.7	8.1	6.1	99.9	699
Catholic pupils	16.9	54.9	19.0	2.0	7.2	100.0	195

[a] Categories: (1) I believe that to have a lot of money is essential for the kind of life I wish to lead; (2) A lot of money is good to have but really isn't important; (3) Having a lot of money is something I have not thought about; (4) Having a lot of money is something for which I do not struggle; (5) Having a lot of money leads to evil.

TABLE 222

DESIRE FOR JOB BETTER THAN FATHER'S, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	35.5	26.7	18.6	10.4	8.8	100.0	662
Catholic pupils	38.1	25.0	15.9	7.9	13.1	100.0	176

[a] Categories: (1) With respect to my father's occupation, I would like a much better job and make a lot more money; (2) I would like a job at least as good; (3) I would like to have the same job; (4) I would like to have something different no matter how much money I would make; (5) I would not necessarily care to have a better job.

TABLE 223

BELIEF IN THE VALUE OF FORMAL EDUCATION, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)[a]					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	%	*n*
Public pupils	85.3	7.1	3.4	2.3	1.9	100.0	700
Catholic pupils	92.3	4.6	1.0	1.5	.5	99.9	196
Public parents	93.0	4.5	1.9	.3	.3	100.0	316
Catholic parents	92.4	3.9	1.3	2.5	.0	100.1	79

[a] For categories, see Table 180, supra, p. 331.

TABLE 224

HOW INTERESTING PUPIL FIND (FOUND) LEARNING IN SCHOOL TO BE, BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS AND PARENTS

Respondents	Response (%)					Total	
	Extremely interesting 1	2	3	4	Completely boring 5	%	*n*
Public pupils	66.9	26.1	5.3	.7	1.0	100.0	700
Catholic pupils	56.1	34.2	8.2	.5	1.0	100.0	196
Public parents	53.0	27.7	12.0	6.0	1.3	100.0	303
Catholic parents	53.8	35.9	10.3	.0	.0	100.0	78